TŪZAK-I-WĀLĀJĀHĪ

OF

BURHĀN IBN ḤASAN

TRANSLATED INTO ENGLISH

BY

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PART II

From the Battle of Ambur 1162 A.H. to the Capture of Pondicherry, 1174 A.H. (1749-1761 A.D).



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PREFACE.

The present volume is a continuation of that which was published in the same series about five years ago. It carries on the History of the Nawwābs of the Carnatic from the battle of Ambur to the fall of Pondicherry. That the appearance of this continuation has been so long delayed is due to a variety of causes, one being the absence of the editor out of India on study leave for two years. It is hoped to bring out the remaining parts of the Sources of the History of the Nawwābs of the Carnatic at an early date.

The period covered by this volume includes most of the events that tended in the direction of establishing the supremacy of the East India Company on the Coromandel Coast; occasionally the scope of the narrative takes us from the East Coast to the English settlements in Bengal. The book abounds in details of the indebtedness of the English to the rulers of the Wālājāhī dynasty in the Carnatic.

Of the Persian manuscripts that serve as sources of information for the History of the Nawwābs of the Carnatic, Burhān's *Tūzak-i-Wālājāhī* comes to an end with this volume.

The editor is highly indebted to the ready and generous help of Rao Sahib C. S. Srinivasachariar, M. A., Professor of History, Annamalai University, for the valuable historical notes. He is also grateful to his friend and colleague Mr. S. S. Suryanarayana Sastri, for reading through proofs of this book and for making helpful suggestions.

University Buildings,
Triplicane, Madras,
1st November, 1939.

S. Muhammad Ḥusayn Nainar.

TRANSLITERATION

ا	a	ذ	dh	غ	gh
ب	b	ر	r	ف	f
پ	p	ڑ	ṛ	ق	q
ت	t	ز	z	ک	k
ٹ	ṭ	ژ	zh	گ	g
ث	th	س	s	ل	l
ج	j	ش	sh	م	m
چ	ch	ص	ṣ	ن	n
ح	ḥ	ض	ẓ	و	w
خ	kh	ط	ṭ	ہ	h
د	d	ظ	z̤	ء	ʼ
ڈ	ḍ	ع	ʻ	ي	y

Vowels

The short vowels are expressed thus:—

a for *fatḥa*

i for *kasra*

u for *ẓamma*

The long vowels are expressed thus:—

ā for long *fatḥa*

ī for long *kasra*

ū for long *ẓamma*

ay to express *fatḥa* before *y*

aw to express *fatḥa* before *w*

SOURCES OF THE HISTORY OF THE NAWWĀBS OF THE CARNATIC

PART II

TŪZAK-I-WĀLĀJĀHĪ—(*Contd.*)

Ḥaydarābād on hearing the news of the martyrdom of his aged father.

There was great confusion in the land, and the people had become scattered. There was delay in the receipt of the revenues from the zamindars who were aware of the absolute authority of Ḥaẓrat-i-Aʻlā and of the strength of Natthamagar. Days passed on in fear and hope, and they were as hesitating as cats on a wall. The question as to whom they should submit to in the end occupied their thoughts. Hidāyat Muḥiyyu'd-Dīn-Khān became depressed and desparate because of his lack of money and he was disturbed at the idea that his troops might desert him. So, as an expedient, he agreed to set free on payment of three lacs of rupees (as ransom) Muḥammad Maḥfūẓ Khān Bahādur, Muḥammad Najību'llāh Khān Bahādur, 'Abdu'l Maʻālī Khān, Afẓalu'd-Dīn Muḥammad Khān, Raja Sampath Rai and others who were prisoners in the hands of the treacherous enemy, and were wounded by the sword of cruelty. As soon as Ḥaẓrat-i-Aʻlā heard this, he sent the stipulated amount through a responsible agent, obtained the release of his two brothers, his nephews and others from captivity, and invited them to his presence. Then, with great respect towards his elder brother, with compassion towards his younger brother, and with sincerity towards all, he laboured to give relief to their minds which had suffered the sorrows and pains of imprisonment. Since Hidāyat Muḥiyyu'd-Dīn Khān had at the time of his liberating the prisoners conveyed to Ḥaẓrat-i-Aʻlā through Muḥammad Maḥfūẓ Khān Bahādur an oral message demanding Natthamagar, Ḥaẓrat-i-Aʻlā according to the wise proverb "Self-confidence is bad" caused his brother to encamp at a distance of six *kurōh* from Natthamagar.

To sum up: When Hidāyat Muḥiyyu'd-Dīn Khān found leisure from the management of the affairs of the *ṣūba*, he hastened towards the port of Phulcheri for the purpose of devising plans to subjugate Natthamagar. M. Dupleix, the

governor marched forth a considerable distance to receive him, and escorted him to the fort, where he had made preparations to adorn the table of hospitality, and arrange the carpet of merriment. They drank of the cup of friendship, and became so infatuated with each other that they exchanged dresses and each found in his mirror the reflection of the other. When, in the course of their talk, they turned to deliberate on the subject on hand, the host spoke enthusiastically as follows:—

"It is a weak imagination that thinks the subjugation of Nattharnagar easy. The attempt will bring the shame of failure. War against Muḥammad 'Alī Khān (Ḥaẓrat-i-A'lā) will bear no fruit. The striving in that direction will not bring any advantage. For he is a *sardār* possessing great wisdom and sagacity. He is a commander (endowed) with understanding and power. He is most experienced in every manner of attack, and engagement. He is skilled in the methods of war; the master who subdues the kingdom; the king who wields an experienced sword. The superiority of his stratagem ties the hands of brave men. The boldness of his schemes will, with the aid of a straw blade, shake a hill to its foundations. In opposing him the enemy loses his head and becomes helpless. I had occasions to know his method of fighting, and regretted having opposed him. My fear is that a war with him will be prolonged, and will awaken all the dormant mischief. So first of all it is necessary for us to fill our coffers."

The other members of the council approved of his view; and after an exhaustive enquiry into the situation they unanimously came to the following decision. "The zamindar of Tanjore is in possession of a vast treasure; his affairs are in great confusion; his army is a flock without a shepherd; his authority is only nominal. An army must march against him; we must get him under our control and seize his treasure. Then from that place we can spur the horse of our desire in whatever

direction we choose. For, Tanjore is adjacent to Nattharnagar. Its subjugation means the achievement of our desire."

This decision approved of, they poured the materials of mischief on Tanjore, and laid siege to its fort on all sides. The zamindar, Pratap Singh, was helpless, and was overtaken with fear. He wrote a letter to Ḥaẓrat-i-A'lā describing his condition, who decided that in the circumstances his assistance was most desirable, and sent a distinguished army with necessary equipments. The fort was thus enabled to withstand the siege and the besieged gained strength. When the besiegers, Hidāyat Muḥiyyu'd-Dīn Khān, Ḥusayn Dōst Khān, and M. Law, the commander of the French forces, learnt of the arrival of auxiliaries from Nattharnagar and the consequent strength to the fort of Tanjore, they understood that the struggle would be prolonged. Further, the forces of the *sarkār* severely cannonaded the enemy; M. Law was wounded in his cheek by a piece of wood from a tree aimed at by the gunners. Many a cruel and rebellious man from among the enemy was slain. So they gave orders to stop fighting, and negotiate for peace. The frightened zamindar thought that peace was most suitable, sent cash and presents and thus made the besieging enemy depart from his presence. During the retreat of the enemy the bustle and the clamour of the tigers in the forest of Nattharnagar (army of Ḥaẓrat-i-A'lā) and of the brave and valiant soldiers of Tanjore followed them and did not allow the herd of fleeing army to escape from their hands. At every place they stretched out their brave and valiant hands from the sleeves of fierceness and violence and never lost a minute in slaughtering and plundering the enemy. The havoc created by their cannon lightened the confused runners of their weight (of baggage); and by the time they reached Phulcheri they were reduced to great straits. The Mahratta marauders who had appeared on that part of the country plundered them and the picking hand never failed to get anything from their pockets.

The happy account which describes the good events and prosperity in the life of Ḥaẓrat-i-Aʿlā, the possessor of glory and greatness, i.e., *The Nawwāb Wālājāh Amīru'l Hind; May Allāh grant stability to his kingdom and authority by the grace and the goodwill of the Leader of the prophets and of his noble and praiseworthy family. May Allāh's blessings be upon them all till the day of judgment.*

By the grace of Allāh, our Ḥaẓrat-i-Aʿlā is the most blessed of the family of Anwariyya, the most excellent of that enlightened family; the (choicest) flower in the basket of the children of Nawwāb Sirāju'd-Dawla Bahādur. He was born in the town of Shājahānābād on Tuesday, the 14th of the glorious Shawwāl of the year 1135 A.H. (1723 A.D.); his birth shed lustre on the world, like a bright sun, and brightened the soul and the heart of his parents. His famous father chose his happy name to be Ghulām Anbiyā' (the slave of the prophets) which in consideration of the date of his birth seemed to give indications of divine support. The blessings of this soul-nourishing event, granted to the whole world, the happiness of a perennial *ʿīd* (festival). His noble mother named him Muḥammad ʿAlī in accordance with her belief in the sect of Jaʿfariyyah and of the twelve *imāms*. During the performance of the ceremony at the expiry of the period of weaning, the great amīrs of fame and distinguished nobles of high rank in Shājahānābād were loaded with unexpected presents. In his fourth year he went to Gōpamaw in the company of his mother. At the time of the performance of the happy ceremony of *bismillāhkhānī*[1], the residents of that happy town

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(1) The rite of initiation, *bismillāh* 'pronouncing the name of Allāh', is observed when a boy reaches the age of about five years, and after this he is sent to school.

See *Herklots' Islam in India*, pp. 43-47 for a detailed description of this rite.

pronounced eloquently the expression *alḥamdu li'llāh*, (praise be to Allah). In his sixth year he travelled *via* Bengal with his mother and in the company of Muḥammad Munīru'd-Dīn Khān the son of his father's first cousin, and reached the presence of his great father who at that time was commissioned by the glorious shade of Allāh, namely, Muḥammad Shāh Pādshāh to accompany Āṣaf Jāh, the wazīr-designate of the *sūba* of the Deccan, where he was made the *nāẓim* of Chicacole and other (neighbouring) towns. He was brought up under the kind care of his father. In his fourteenth year his marriage was celebrated in great pomp and splendour, befitting persons of high rank. For three months there was music and dance; feasting and other festivities connected with such occasions were freely provided for. Thus the people were overjoyed. He became the son-in-law of a glorious and noble family by his marriage with the princess of Ṣafawiyya sultans of Īrān, a paradise on earth. The writer of these pages thinks it necessary to explain how it became possible for this country to obtain this great blessing which was purely due to ever-watchful good fortune of Ḥaẓrat-i-A'lā. During the reigns of the four sultans of the Deccan, one Mīr, Niẓāmu'd-Dīn Aḥmad, a nephew of Shāh Tahmāsp Ṣafawiyyu'l Mūsawī, the ruler of Īrān, started on his travels and reached the far off Deccan. It seems that in leaving his home he thought as though he was going to the everlasting world. Of his two sons one by name Sayyid Alī returned to the home of his ancestors in Īrān, a paradise on earth. The second son by name Mīr Manṣūr took up his residence in the Deccan. His wife who also was of his kin, bore a daughter by name Sayyid Bēgam who was surnamed Ṣāliḥa Bēgam. She was married to a relation of Nawwāb Sirāju'd-Dawla Bahādur by name Aḥsanu'd-Dīn Khān Bahādur, whose mother was from the Haqqānī clan, a resident of Sandilā and well known among the nobles of India. A girl was born to her and was named

Khadīja Bēgam. Ḥaẓrat-i-A'lā whose history from the birth till his 14th year had been related, found his happy union with Khadīja Bēgam like the conjunction of a star with another star. The bright candle of her title Nawwāb Bēgam shed lustre on the whole family. The Bountiful Giver who had bestowed all manner of distinctions on our master (Ḥaẓrat-i-A'lā) and vouchsafed to him glorious authority among the amīrs of high rank and the order of nobles, favoured him also with many children. Eighteen sons and twenty-one daughters were born to him. All these attained the age of understanding and were prosperous in the garden of time. Since the splendour of the birth of some of the sons and daughters by his wives other than Nawwāb Bēgam had not appeared at the time of writing this book, the author has given only the number of children then living. But in obedience to a subsequent order of the Nawwāb in the year 1208 A. H. the names of the children born later and certain other events are related in their proper places. In short, the Lord of creation arranged the constellation of stars for the purpose of regulating the affairs of this world. Of these children possessing abundant generosity the Lord of creation arranged that five sons and five daughters be born of one mother, *i.e.*, Nawwāb Bēgam. They were like the ten sense organs which impart knowledge to humanity.

The eldest of these was Ghulām Ḥusayn. The reason for naming him so was as follows: For a long time no child was born to the Nawwāb Bēgam. On account of this the mirror of the mind of Ḥaẓrat-i-A'lā was dimmed with sorrow. One day on the seventh of the holy month of Muḥarram in the year 1160 A.H. Sayyid 'Alī Khān, the senior maternal uncle of the Nawwāb Bēgam, appeared before the *'āshūr-khāna* where usually the *ta'ziya*[1] was kept, and with

(1) Ta'ziya—A model of the tomb of Ḥasan and Ḥusayn, (sons of 'Alī, the fourth caliph of Islām) carried in procession at the Muḥarram.

great devotion and ecstasy prayed for a son in the holy presence of Ḥaẓrat Abū 'Abd-Allāh Ḥusayn, may Allāh's blessing and peace be on him, his brother and his family. By the grace of Him who grants prayers, next year, *i.e.*, in 1161 A.H. (31st December 1747) on the same day of the holy Muḥarram and at the same hour when the prayer was made the previous year the birth of the beloved child prayed for opened the eyes of eternal prosperity in the face of the parents. Ḥaẓrat-i-A'lā prostrated himself before the Lord of creation, offered thanks for this great gift, and named the child Ghulām Ḥusayn. Since then he took upon himself the duty of setting up every year the standards of *ta'ziya* to the *imām* of creation. His grandfather (Anwaru'd-Dīn Khān) who became a martyr later on, named the child 'Abdu'l-Walī, and got for him the title of 'Umdatu'l-Umarā and other titles from the imperial court of the Pādshāh at Delhi. Ḥaẓrat-i-A'lā out of his paternal affection got from the emperor through Khwāja Shamsu'd-Dīn Khān and Lord Clive the elder, the hereditary *sanad* for the grant of the Carnatic Pāyānghāt and Bālāghāt to 'Umdatu'l-Umarā and other appropriate titles for him and his four brothers. The details will be set forth in due course.

The second son (of Ḥaẓrat-i-A'lā) was Muḥammad Munawwar with the title of Madāru'l-Mulk. He grew up to be a celebrated, honoured and respected man with the title of Amīru'l-Umarā. This title he got from the court of 'Alī Gawhar Shāh 'Ālam Pādshāh, as a reward for his services rendered in the subjugation of Tanjore. The details will be related in the second book.

The third son was Muḥammad Anwar with the title of Sayfu'l-Mulk. The fourth son was named Ghulām Ḥasan in accordance with a dream of his noble mother; he was also named Muḥammad 'Abdu'llāh according to the wishes of his famous father. Out of regard for both these names, his (final)

name became Muḥammad 'Abdu'llāh-al-Ḥasan. His title was Ḥusāmu'l-Mulk. The fifth son was 'Abdu'l-Quddūs with the title Naṣīru'l-Mulk.

The account of the five daughters

The eldest daughter was Mōtī Bēgam. She was junior sister to 'Umdatu'l-Umarā. When she came of age she was betrothed to Ghulām Muḥiyyu'd-Dīn who was known by the title of 'Abdu'l-Ḥayy Khān, the sister's son of Badru'l-Islām Khān Bahādur Afrāsiyāb Jang. But before the celebration of marriage she had an attack of smallpox and left the scar of separation on the minds of the people.

The second daughter was Pōtī Bēgam. She was the junior sister to Madāru'l-Mulk Bahādur. She attained the age of discretion. Before her betrothal she suffered from the same disease which attacked her elder sister and drew the curtain on the face of her existence.

The death of the two sisters in quick succession within a week left an indelible scar on the minds of the parents.

The third daughter was Buddhī Bēgam. She was junior to Sayfu'l-Mulk Bahādur. She was known as Sultānu'n-Nisā Bēgam. She was married to the nephew of Ḥaẓrat-i-A'lā, by name 'Abdul-Hādī with the title of Ṣamṣāmu'd-Dawla, and had children.

The fourth daughter was Daryā Bēgam, because of her birth during a sea-voyage, the details of which will be narrated later. She was junior sister to Husāmu'l-Mulk Bahādur and was known by the title of Maliku'n-Nisā Bēgam. She was married to 'Abdu'l-Walī who was distinguished by the title of Mawlawī 'Abdu'l-Walī Khān Bahādur and was the younger brother of Ṣamṣāmu'd-Dawla Bahādur. She had children.

The fifth daughter was Fataḥ Bēgam because she was born on the day of the conquest of Ellore. She was junior to Naṣīru'l-Mulk Bahādur and was known by the title of

the cloud and bountiful like the sea; he is hospitable and polite. He is a person who displays mercy and grace and is the refuge of the helpless and the decrepit. His generosity knows no bounds, and in his acts of kindness he is peerless.

The daily routine of Ḥaẓrat-i-A'lā

He got up at three in the morning, answered the calls of nature, performed his ablutions, and said the *after-mid-night-prayer.* Then he engaged himself in reading the Qurān. After finishing the *early-morning-prayer* he immersed himself till sunrise in performing religious duties; he spoke to none during this interval. Then he had his breakfast. At about 6-45 in the morning, his presence shed splendour on the *tasbīḥ khāna* where he repeated *darūd* on the rosary, in an assembly of two hundred persons where no distinction between the servants and men of rank was observed. At about 7-30 A.M. he sat in the company of learned men and accomplished persons, his brothers and sons, his friends and relatives, discussing the problems pertaining to jurisprudence and discoursing on the various religious sects. Then from 9 A.M. to noon he held the general *darbār,* and busied himself in signing papers, and attending to the other affairs of the government. The *darbār* over, he took a nap till about 12-45. On waking up he attended to the calls of nature, performed ablutions and offered the *noon-day-prayer.* About 1-30 P.M. he engaged himself in the *dāru'l-inshā'* and in the *muhām khāna* and inquired after the welfare of his relations and the poor. About 4 P.M. he took his meal and after saying his *after-noon-prayer,* he sat in the company of the learned and the pious, discussing and meditating. In their company he said the *sun-set-prayer* and the *after-sun-set-prayer.* From 7 to 10 in the night he engaged himself in the administration of the affairs of the kingdom and other routine duties. Then he retired to his sleeping apartment, and took rest.

His good actions

In his worship of Allāh he was not remiss even to the smallest extent, and he took on himself the observances of a devotee. That is, in addition to the daily five obligatory prayers, he was diligent in his prayers on the *jumʿa* and on the *ʿīd* days, in the *supererogatory prayers,* and in the prayers prescribed for the holy and blessed days of the year. In accordance with his good habits he would keep awake in the night, go to the mosque on foot, observe scrupulously both the *obligatory* and *supererogatory fasts,* do praiseworthy things and avoid blameworthy acts, forgive the faults of men and condone their base actions and misdeeds. These he observed always. He was diligent in repeating *darūd* and immersed himself in thoughts of Allāh. These were in his blood, and in this respect he resembled his father. His chief traits were to open inns, build mosques, found hospitals for the poor, build bridges, dig wells, improve gardens and rivers, both in his own country and elsewhere,—all these in the way of Allāh. From the Carnatic to Gōpamaw, the native home of his ancestors, he spread a common table with dainties for the enjoyment of his relations and all travellers. He strove to satisfy the physical needs of the needy, and set at rest the anxieties of the poor. Every year he despatched two ships *Safīnatu'llāh* and *Safīnatu'rrasūl* laden with presents and money for the maintenance of the stalls for water-supply and serais and for the award of *nadhr* to the noble and the pious residing in Makka the Exalted, Madīna the Illuminated, Najaf the Eminent, Karbalā the High, and Mashhad the Glorious: May Allāh increase their glory and fame. He renewed in his name, from the sultan of Rūm, the hereditary rights to sweep and light the holy places in Makka and Madīna. These facts have already been briefly related in the course of the history of Nawwāb Ḥājī Muḥammad Anwaru'd-Dīn Khān Bahādur. He assigned the *maḥṣūl* of Maḥmūd bandar (Porto Novo) and other taluqs on the coast

of the roaring sea in the Carnatic to meet the expenses of these charities which amounted to one lac of rupees. He supplied the pilgrims to Makka and to the holy shrine of the Prophet of Allāh (may peace be on him) with provisions and permitted them to travel by the ships mentioned above. He appointed vakils in the two holy places to look after the indigent, to supply food, drink and other necessary things for pilgrims and visitors and provide camels free of charge to those helpless men whose feet had become sore with walking. He sent from this country stone implements like mill-stones, mortars, pestles, etc., said to be rare in Arabia. By sending these things for the comfort of the people of Arabia, he conferred on them favours to such an extent that they embroidered their head-dresses with the exalted name of Wālājāh Sulṭānu'l-Hind and surnamed him Sulṭānu'l-Hind. In the course of sermons delivered from the pulpit of their mosques, they mentioned his name next to that of the sultan of Rūm and prayed for their long rule. In a narration of a tenth of his praiseworthy traits, the pen is prostrate, its tongue broken; in a description of one of the thousand acts of his generosity the pen has grown weak and confounded and stand's motionless like the pupil of the eye in a painted picture.

His generosity

The spring showers were but a drizzle when compared with his shower of gems in charity; compared with the surging waves of his generosity the sea of 'Umān was but a drop. The empty pockets of men from far-off lands became filled (with gold); the shoulders and the backs of the learned from every part of the country were made heavy (with presents). A complete narration of it is as endless as his beneficence. Indeed, it is very long. But an account of his generosity increases the splendour of the narration, which encourages me to write a few words from the chapter of his munificence.

It is reported that during the days when the Nawwāb maintained the cavaliers of the 'regiment' which in the English language meant the troops of the special stable, two horses belonging to a merchant and costing two thousand rupees were purchased for the *sarkār* along with other horses from the merchants of various places. The clerks in the revenue office under Ābdu'r-Rashīd Khān Bahādur son of Muḥammad Najīb Khān Shahīd, wrote a general order to the Nellore treasury for the payment of money to all the merchants. The one who sold his two horses for two thousand rupees also hurried to that place, and like a jaded horse returned empty-handed in a ruinous condition with his order for payment. He submitted to the Nawwāb while going on a drive, a petition describing his sad state. As soon as Ḥaẓrat-i-A'lā perused it he called the merchant to his presence and made inquiries. He submitted, "I come from Awrangābād; I am a helpless man without any work, and a stranger without any means. I am under the necessity of celebrating the marriage of my two daughters. So I took two horses from a merchant friend of mine. I travelled a long distance, reached this city and through the kindness of the wakeful luck I sold them to the bountiful *sarkār* in the hope of getting profits which would enable me to celebrate the marriage of my daughters. With the order for payment of money I hastened to Nellore but I find that the collections there are not sufficient to pay me. Hence I returned helpless without achieving my object and have submitted a petition describing my plight in the hope that the mercy of the lord may help me in my distressed condition and enable me to achieve my object." Ḥaẓrat-i-A'lā listened to his story and learnt his desire to get his daughters married, and the inability to find funds. He immediately sent for *badras* of money from the treasury and in his own presence caused them to be granted in the following manner:—

"Two thousand rupees towards the price of the horses, two thousand rupees towards the dowry of his daughters, two

thousand rupees towards the repayment of loan, two thousand rupees towards capital for business, two thousand rupees to meet the expenses of his journey from and to Awrangābād, the payment of duties and the expenditure for the maintenance of the horses, two thousand rupees towards the purchase of presents for his children."

Thus in all he granted twelve thousand rupees, besides a *khil'at*, two horses for his use and a passport. The merchant was overjoyed with these unexpected favours and returned home. In this manner many *shaykhs*, great men, and needy travellers grew contented by means of his bounty and eased their minds of cares. For example Shāh Abū-Sa'īd, of Bareili, his son Shāh Abū al-Layth, and others. By means of his beneficence and favour many English *sardārs* gained in a single *majlis* lacs of rupees as presents. Princes, and amīrs of high family like Humāyūn Bakht and others, the descendants of the sultans of Hindustan, Yaḥyā Khān the son of Murshid Qulī Khān[1] the *nāẓim* of Bengal, Khwāja Mawdūd Khān, the grandson of Nawwāb Mubāriz Khān[2] the *raīs* of the Deccan, Ḥamīdu'd-Dawla, the grandson of Nawwāb Āṣaf Jāh; Dilāwar Khān the *amīr-i-khāṣ* of Muḥammad Shāh Pādshāh and others who were ruined on account of reverses of fortune found refuge under

(1) Murshid Qulī Khān, otherwise known as Ja'far Khān, was the son of a Brahman, converted to Islām by Ḥāji Shāfia Iṣfahānī. He was appointed as the *nāẓim* of Bengal by the Emperor 'Ālamgīr in A.D. 1704. He built the capital and called it Murshidābād after his own name. He died in the reign of the emperor Muḥammad Shāh about the year A.D. 1726 and was succeeded by his son-in-law Shujā'u'd-Dīn, also called Shujā'u'd-Dawla. Beale and Keene, *Oriental Biographical Dictionary* (1894), p. 188.

(2) Nawwāb Mubāriz Khān was a noble man who, in the beginning of the reign of Muḥammad Shāh of Delhi, was the *nāẓim* of Ḥaydarābād. He was killed in a battle which he fought at the instigation of the emperor against Niẓāmu'l-Mulk on the 1st October, 1724, and his head was sent to the imperial court.

the shade of his tender care and kindness and obtained greater comfort and solace than was available in their homes. In these days when the breaking of the heart of the poor is considered medicinal for the soul of the wealthy, the killing of the chicken-hearted is the elixir of prosperity, the destruction of the rights of the poor is the vindication of the powerful hand, the usurpation of the estates of the helpless is the exhibition of prowess, the hoarding of money-bags has preference over the safety of lives, the desire to cause damage to others has become a part of the tenets of the faith, the cry for help is considered to be the happy song of prosperity, the wakeful lamentation of those who seek justice is thought to be the song of great rejoicing—in these days, who is like our Ḥaẓrat-i-A'lā to help the afflicted, to hasten to the cries of the tyrannised, and to raise up the oppressed and the down-trodden? He relieved the needy from the oppression of their wants, and made them masters of abundant wealth. He liberated the beggar from his base profession, and relieved him of the necessity of going from door to door. Those who cried for a morsel of food were enabled to eat in plenty. Thus, throughout his life he removed the hunger of the destitute by his liberal gifts. Those who were thirsting for a handful of water were enabled to drink from a fountain. Till the last moment of his life he continued to help the sufferers from the heat of the thirst of poverty to drink from the pure fountain of his benevolence. He was a granary from which all, from the *faqīr* to the amīr, got their supplies. He was a treasure that profited all alike from the beggar to the prince. He was a sun that shed lustre alike on the stone as well as on the gem; a cloud that rained alike on the shell as well as on the sea.

May the Munificent Lord Who in His world-nourishing wisdom has given power to bountiful men and Whose door of wealth is open for the consolation and benefit of the creation, permit the beneficence and generosity of this glorious and pros-

perous person to continue for long years. May his glorious and mighty beneficence be made to shine from morn to eve on the heads of the people of the world even like the splendour of the sun, through the mediation of the Prophet, his family and his companions (may peace and blessing be upon them all).

His bravery

His natural bravery and innate intrepidity kept in check the haughty disposition of the disobedient and brought down the impudent from the summit of their arrogance to an ignominous position. The heads of those who opposed him in their conceit found severance before his sword, and became helpless. The opposing head held aloft with impunity could not but fall before his scimitar. In the *maydān* of bravery even Rustam[1] cannot stand before him, but will, as a confession of weakness, take refuge in the skirt of his father Zāl; in a chronicle of brave deeds Afrāsiyāb[2] will have his own name entered as a nonentity, one to be reckoned among the many that are no more. In the whole of the Carnatic not a piece of land could be found where the blood of the enemy had not been shed; not a ground whose dust, scattered by the hoofs of his high-blooded horse, had not been thrown into the eyes of the refractory enemy. When he found the battle-field was not sufficient for the exhibition of his bravery he sailed forth on the high seas and fought against the naval forces of the French. General Lawrence[3], Mr. Clive, later Lord Clive, Colonel

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(1) Rustom the son of Zāl, the most renowned hero among the Persians. For his other names see *Persian-English Dictionary*, F. Steingass.

(2) Afrāsiyāb (Z. frañuhar-a-shya). Name of an ancient king celebrated in Persian poetry, sovereign of Turān, and a Scythian or Turk by birth.

(3) General Lawrence (1697 to 1775 A.D.) was a major of the garrison at Fort St. George in 1747; he commanded the troops at Fort St. David in 1748, and was taken prisoner by the French in the course of his attack on Pondicherry, but was released after the restoration of Madras to

Coote[1] later Sir Eyre Coote, . . .[2] General Smith,[3] General Preston[4] and others—all well-versed in the art of warfare had occasions to witness him in battle-fields, admired his intrepidity, and confessed that he was their superior in courage. Any further narration descriptive or detailed becomes unduly long and tedious.

His modesty

His modesty was as remarkable as his generosity. In addition to his endeavours to please the minds of the people, he

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the English. Later on he took Devikottah in Tanjore and rose to be the Commander-in-Chief of the Company's forces in the East Indies.

(1) Coote, Sir Eyre, (1721-1783) came to India in 1754, and took part in the war against Siraju'd-Dawla It was on his advice that Clive fought against the Nawwāb at Plassey. He was appointed in January 1759 to command the troops at Madras, defeated M Lally at Wandiwash, in November 1759, taking that town as well as Karunguzhi and Arcot. He besieged and subjugated Pondicherry in January 1761 He was once again appointed to command the troops in Madras in the year 1769 and later on became the Commander-in-Chief of the British forces in India. He fought in the Second Mysore War, raised the siege of Wandiwash in 1781 and defeated Ḥaydar Ali decisively at Porto Novo. He died at Madras in 1783. (*Vide* Wylly *Life of Sir Eyre Coote*)

(2) The author mentions another name *General KLYII'* which is not to be identified.

(3) General Smith served in the Carnatic under Clive and was taken prisoner by the French in 1753. He commanded the garrison at Trichinopoly in 1758 and also took part in the siege of Pondicherry (1760-61). He defeated the combind forces of Ḥaydar and the Wazir near Tiruvannamalai in September 1767. He became a colonel in 1768. He took Tanjore for Nawwāb Wālājah in 1773 and retired soon after.

(4) General Preston probably Captain Achilles Preston, who was in charge of the fort at Chingleput during M. Lally's siege of Madras, and caused great uneaseness to the French besiegers of the city of Madras by his movements He suspected the perfidy of the Sepoy Captain, Yusuf Khān, against the Nawwāb in 1762 63. At the early age of 30, he besieged Madura which was then in the possession of the rebel Yūsuf Khān and was slain in the course of the operations against the city. (S. C. Hill, '*Yusuf Khan the Rebel Commandant*' 1914—pages 73 *et seq*)

invited men to the feast held on the occasion of saying *fātiḥa* to the departed souls of men great in religion; held *majlis* in honour of nobles and men in power, *faqīrs* and *mashāyikhs*; observed the civilities and duties of a host, took upon himself the duties of attendants, assisted the guests in the washing of their hands, sought pardon for the trouble he gave them, and made them feel happy. All these were specially characteristic of him. Nay, to put in order the shoes left behind by those that attended the *darbār* as well as the footwear of the crowd composed of the poor and the needy, formed his dominant trait in accordance with the following verse:—

"The goblet bends low when it empties its contents
The generous condescend in their acts of generosity."

Despite all these, the dread of him as a lordly person and a great man, and the awe which he inspired in the minds of servants, companions and sons was so overpowering that none dared to speak to him in person without a mediator.

His mercy and kindness

He was so tender-hearted that he never caused pain to any living being, nay he thought it improper to cut down even a tree. He had not the heart to look at the chastisement of a servant by his master or of a pupil by his teacher. Whenever he saw or heard a teacher punishing his students or reproving them, he softened with presents the heart of the teacher and granted a holiday to the boys. It has been well ascertained, he did not disturb the drowsy *chawkidār* who kept watch in his bed chamber but placed his pillow under the latter's head, and did not wake him till morning.

It is reported that one day during his travels he saw a *farrāsh* sleeping in the tent near the throne because of the fatigue of the journey. So he did not sit on the throne, took his seat elsewhere, held his general *darbār* and asked his men not to wake him from sleep. The killing of animals was not acceptable

to this world-sustainer, so much so that at the time of religious sacrifices he formally placed his hand on the victim leaving the completion of the ceremony to other hands. Whenever any scorpion or snake came in his view he would have it caught alive and conveyed to the forest. He never trod even on an ant. Whenever he saw an ant in distress, he would have it conveyed to a safe place so that it might not be trampled upon.

His justice and impartiality

He was so impartial in the administration of justice that a gnat did not stand in fear of an elephant, and people forgot the name of Nowshīrwān[1]. He looked with an equal eye on relations and strangers Suffice it to quote a solitary instance which will, before any tribunal, bear testimony to his impartial justice.

It is reported that one day the young prince 'Umdatu'l-Umarā, the most beloved of his children, while playing with other boys, hit a mason's son on the forehead and a few drops of blood came out. Just then, Ḥaẓrat-i-A'lā had come out from the court of justice and was on his way to the palace when he saw the boy weeping. He asked him why he was weeping and from the wound he surmised that he had been tyrannised over by his own son. He thought that his son's actions were opposed to the rules of God-fearing nature, and so without any regard for the parental feeling he brought him along with the other boy to the house of correction and made him stand in the place set apart for criminals and directed the judges to administer justice without the least consideration for parentage. Wizārat 'Alī Khān an Arab, who was the magistrate from the time of Nawwāb Shahīd (Anwaru'd-Dīn Khān Bahādur) along with other magistrates submitted to the Nawwāb thus: "The two boys have not attained the age of discretion and hence are outside the pale of *shara'*." Ḥaẓrat-i-A'lā said, "Though the law

(1) Noshirwān, Noshirwān, name of an ancient king of Persia.

does not allow it, yet the administration of justice demands it, for it would serve as a warning to others, and prevent them from transgression." Then he ordered the mason's son to give without any fear or consideration a blow on the forehead of his own son with the same severity with which his son struck. The mason's son obeyed. The land was stupified at this in amazement and every man engraved on the tablet of his own heart the impartial justice of the Nawwāb; the disobedient and the haughty forgot their evil nature.

His intelligence and sagacity

His intelligence and sagacity are beyond the compass of narration and description. Can better evidence than the following be adduced to prove his wisdom? He managed with great ingenuity the affairs of the sagacious English. Many a problem which could not be solved by the governors of Chennapatan (Madras) was entrusted to him for a solution. When he spoke in the council chamber, the English sat dumb like pictures. The correspondence between Ḥaẓrat-i-A'lā and the governors of Chennapatan and Bengal, which will be published in the second book, will reveal to the intelligent the nature of the problems discussed.

The devotion of Ḥaẓrat-i-A'lā to his famous father, and the affection of the father towards his esteemed son

In view of the accounts already narrated, it is not necessary to detail facts illustrative of the devotion of Ḥaẓrat-i-A'lā to his famous father, and of the affection of the father towards his son, a celebrated person of the age; yet the addition of something more about his virtues here may be deemed auspicious for the book. Just as every one believes that the Creator is watchful over the affairs of this world and the hereafter, and just as it is essential for the followers of the Prophet (peace be on him) to give preference to his teachings, Ḥaẓrat-i-A'lā,

on account of his sincere faith in his father, kept him always in his mind's eye, whenever he did right or abstained from wrong. Even after the martyrdom of his father he never deviated a little from this habit. He believed that his father was watching him in all his actions, and so he did everything in a manner befitting his father's satisfaction. In obedience to the command of his father, Ḥaẓrat-i-A'lā, while yet a child, had promised that he and his children would not smoke *ḥuqqa*; he has kept this word till this day, *i.e.*, after the expiry of forty years since the martyrdom of his father. He deemed the *ḥuqqa* one of the things forbidden by the religious law, and strictly enjoined his sons not to smoke. His brothers marshalled armies against him, yet he forgave their faults out of regard for the spirit of his noble father, and conferred favours on them. He bestowed on them rich *jāgīrs* worthy of amīrs. Only one of his surviving brothers, 'Abdu'l-Wahhāb Khān, with the title Shukōhu'l Mulk has always been his boon companion and friend. Thus the affection between the father and the son was like that between a pair of lovers. The significance of this relationship may be best understood from a letter written by the Nawwāb Shahīd in his own hand, and despatched to Ḥaẓrat-i-A'lā who after finishing his work with the palayagars, had returned to a place adjacent to Nattharnagar and was thinking of presenting himself before his father the next day.

The letter of the Nawwāb Shahīd

"I do not know if you have come,
How pleasing it will be if you come hither soon
Refreshing like the morning breeze over the plain!
The fragrance is fanned from the distant flower,
But O! flower! how pleasing it will be
If you out-distance your fragrance.
Write to me the time of your arrival.

Tomorrow our city will be rich in sugar;
It is cheap now and will become cheaper still."

Ḥaẓrat-i-A'lā anointed with the ink of this letter the pupil of his eyes which were suffering from the sickness of separation, folded the letter and laid it to his heart torn asunder by the hand of separation. Then he submitted an *'arẓdāsht* in reply. Next morning as soon as he rose up from his bed he hastened to the presence of his father. When his eyes were anointed with the collyrium of the dust of his father's court, they acquired the favour of seeing his father. He placed his head at the feet of his father, offered thanks for such a favour, and submitted *nadhr*. When Ḥaẓrat-i-A'lā found his father reclining on a bed spread on the floor instead of on a cot, he thought that the bedstead of his father was not in repair. So he told the servant, "If the bedstead of the Nawwāb be not in repair, take one of mine and spread it out for him." The servants submitted in reply: "The bedstead of the Nawwāb is in good condition. It is possible to get ready such things; nor is it troublesome to attend to the necessary repairs without the least delay. But what can be done? The Nawwāb himself has ceased to sleep on the cot for the last few days." When the Nawwāb listened to this conversation, tears trickled down from his eyes, and he said "I took a vow not to sleep on a cot till the Real Preserver brings you back safe. Now I see you safe by His Grace. You will see that I sleep on the cot from this day."

It is reported that Ḥaẓrat-i-A'lā once fell ill, and the Nawwāb Shahīd (peace be on him), despite his own indisposition, visited him and sat by his cot. He asked the *ḥakīm* 'Alī Akbar who along with *ḥakīm* Muḥammad Amīn and *ḥakīm* Sikandar was attending on his son, about the state of his health. The *ḥakīms* after submitting the state of his health, made respectful enquiries about his own health. Pointing towards his son, the Nawwāb gave out the following verse in reply:

My life is nothing;
My son is the life of my life.
He is the panacea for all my ills.

In brief, the Nawwāb always loved him more than his life, and thought that the good health and strength of his son were the mainstay of his own. The narration of the love between these two who were like body and soul is beyond the compass of writing. From here the pen, that records truth, will begin to write the facts relating to the reign of that conqueror of the world, that amīr, who is the embodiment of justice, *viz.*, our Ḥaẓrat-i-A'lā.

Ḥaẓrat-i-A'lā hears the sorrowful news of the martyrdom of his exalted father, equips the army and strengthens the fort of Natthar nagar[1], writes an arẓdāsht to

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(1) *Measures by which the Nawwāb Wālājāh strengthened the fort of Trichinopoly*: Muhammad 'Alī Wālājāh fled quickly to Trichinopoly after the battle of Ambur. He got the immediate help of the English and proclaimed himself the Nawwāb. The English were in some uncertainty about his claim and sent only 120 Europeans to join him at Trichinopoly and allowed Admiral Boscawen to return to England with his fleet and troops, though the latter had declared that he would remain if the Government of Madras requested his stay at this critical juncture (October, 1749). Muhammad 'Alī then appealed to Nāṣir Jang to march into the Carnatic and joined the latter at Valudavur with 6,000 horse and the detachment from Trichinopoly; he was joined after a few days by Major Lawrence with a body of 600 Europeans from Fort St. David (March, 1750). Muhammad 'Alī was confirmed by Nāṣir Jang in the government of the Carnatic and in July, took the field with his own troops, helped by some English troops, against Tiruvati. Some differences between him and Captain Cope resulted in the withdrawal of the English troops that were with him and he was defeated at Tiruvati by the French in August, and escaped to Arcot with a few attendants. On the death of Nāṣir Jang, he fled from the camp and arrived at Trichinopoly (December). Early in the next year, he was joined by 280 Europeans and 300 sepoys at Trichinopoly. Soon after, he sent one of his brothers with a large force and 30 Europeans to Tinnevelly; and another brother, 'Abdul-Wahhāb and Captain Cope to attack Madura.

Aḥmad Shāh Pādshāh in Hindustan and a letter to Nawwāb Niẓāmud-Dawla Bahādur Nāṣir Jang in the Deccan detailing the affairs of the Carnatic.

When Ḥaẓrat-i-A'lā heard the events that led to the inevitable martyrdom of his father, the imprisonment of Muḥammad Maḥfūẓ Khān Bahādur and other brothers and relatives at the hands of the wicked enemy, the march of 'Abdu'l Wahhāb Khān Bahādur towards Ḥaydarābād, the subjugation of Arcot and Nellore by Hidāyat Muḥiyyu'd-Dīn Khān and his arrival at the port of Phulcheri with the idea of subduing Natthernagar and Tanjore, and similar other vain ideas, he soon became alive to the details of the situation and did not lose the balance of his mind. He deputed *chawkidārs* to blockade the roadsides and ways of Nattharnagar in such a manner that no news of the confused state of affairs might reach the residents. The special army of Ḥaẓrat-i-A'lā deputed to go with Nawwāb Shahīd had returned with Muḥammad Abrār Khān after the happening of the confusion and the news that had been kept secret came now to be talked about publicly by every one; yet, the residents of Nattharnagar, seeing the courage and the stability of mind of Ḥaẓrat-i-A'lā, were not in the least disturbed or distressed. The Nawwāb, the possessor of ever-increasing prosperity, had the innate pluck to get ready, in a short time, the implements of warfare, which could not possibly be collected in many years. Then he collected his own army and those of his followers and divided them in he following manner:

Seven thousand horse and fifteen thousand infantry, old and new, the choice troops of the Nawwāb; two thousand horse and five thousand from Tinnevelly; three thousand horse and five thousand infantry from Tanjore; five hundred

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In April, he again asked reinforcements from the English whose forces took the fleet and were joined 6 weeks later by some of his men at Vriddhachalam and then by the main body of his troops at Valikandapuram in the Perambalur taluk. Orme—*History of Indostan* (183), Vol. I; Book III,

horse and five thousand infantry from Ramnad; five hundred horse and five thousand infantry from Sivaganga; seven hundred horse and five thousand infantry from Malīwār (Malabar); five hundred horse and ten thousand infantry from the Tondaman; three hundred horse and four thousand infantry from the taluk of Tirur; four hundred horse and four thousand infantry from two taluks, Elayanur and Udayarpala; one hundred horse and two thousand infantry from Manaparai: in all, there were fifteen thousand horse and sixty thousand infantry which included swordsmen, bowmen and musketeers. Thus altogether there were seventy-five thousand men. Ḥaẓrat-i-A'lā divided the entire army into five equal bodies of three thousand horse and twelve thousand infantry each. There were thus fifteen thousand men in every division.

He deputed the first division under the leadership of Sayyid 'Alī Khān Bahādur to guard the fort; the second and the third under Sayyid Nāṣir 'Alī Khān and Sayyid Makhdūm 'Alī Khān to keep watch over the boundaries of the kingdom; the fourth and the fifth under Ghazanfar 'Alī Khān and Muḥammad Abrār Khān as reinforcements to other divisions in times of necessity. He then arranged for the repairs of the towers and walls, the deepening of the trench on the southern side, the erection of batteries wherever necessary, the gathering of powder and shot, and the placing of guns in order, and the deputation of intelligent men. As narrated above, he secured on payment of three lacs of rupees, the liberty of Muḥammad Maḥfūẓ Khān Bahādur and others who were prisoners in the hands of the enemy; he sent an army to assist the zamindar of Tanjore and punished the contemptible and vile enemy in a fitting manner and quelled their pride. He then despatched an *arẓdāsht* to the Emperor and a letter to the Wazīr.[1]

(1) The language of the *arẓdāsht* and the letter being courtly, a literal and complete translation is not made; only the gist is given.

ARẒDĀSHT OF ḤAẒRAT-I-A'LĀ TO THE EMPEROR

Letter of Ḥaẓrat-i-A'lā to the Nawwāb Nāṣir Jang

Ḥusayn Dōst Khān and the *qil'adārs* of the Naiṭ community rose in revolt with the support of the French, murdered my father Nawwāb Sirāju'd-Dawla Bahādur and attacked the fort of Tanjore which is as it were a key to Nattharnagar. The ruler of Tanjore seeking my assistance, I sent an army to his aid, and the enemy was driven back to Phulcheri; the Carnatic is now in a state of confusion on account of this incident, and if you could march to this place, things will clear up. Eagerly I look forward to your presence.

Arẓdāsht of Ḥaẓrat-i-A'lā to the Emperor

The Carnatic is now passing through a troublous period. The rebels have joined together and created disturbance in this peaceful land. My father Nawwāb Sirāju'd-Dawla Bahādur, who under the command of your imperial authority was entrusted with the sovereignty of this territory, attained the honour of his life in the field of battle. This humble servant prays that he may be permitted to execute the commands of Your Majesty with the same hereditary sincerity as long as his life lasts. In spite of the confusion and the mischief I continue to have a hold on Nattharnagar and am busy preparing for war. The rebels elated with the success they had over my father, attacked Tanjore an adjacent territory with the ultimate idea of subjugating Nattharnagar. I despatched an army thither for assistance, which succeeded in driving away the enemy in utter confusion.

Nawwāb Niẓāmu'd-Dawla Bahādur Nāṣir Jang sends a reply to Ḥaẓrat-i-A'lā, marches from Awrangābād, and arrives at Haskota by easy stages. Ḥaẓrat-i-A'lā sends Muḥammad Maḥfūẓ Khān Bahādur to receive him and seek the assistance of the advance guard of the army. The arrival of Mīr Dāyim Alī Khān[1], the sardār of the advance guard of the Deccan army, the death of Shīshā, the commander of the enemy's forces, and the flight of Hidāyat Muḥiyyu'd-Dīn Khān towards Phulcheri.

Nawwāb Niẓāmu'd-Dawla Bahādur Nāṣir Jang was staying at Awrangābād when he learnt from various sources the martyrdom of Nawwāb Sirāju'd-Dawla Bahādur which got confirmation on receipt of letter from Ḥaẓrat-i-A'lā. He shed tears of sorrow and was perturbed He rubbed his hands in sadness and lost his patience Then he caused the following reply to be written and despatched to Ḥaẓrat-i-A'lā —

The letter of Nawwāb Niẓāmu'd-Dawla Bahādur to Ḥaẓrat-i-A'lā

"After thanking the Eternal Sovereign, the King of kings and praising the great Leader of the prophets, it is made known to the languid soul, possessing intelligence, glorious and eminent among the amīrs of high rank and of noble descent, the head of

(1) *Mīr Dāyim Alī Khān, sardār of the advance guard of the Deccan army* —Nāṣir Jang had advanced into the South by 10th February, 1750, as far as Sirpi He sent two emissaries to Chanda Sahib (Husayan Dōst Khān) to treat for peace. But these emissaries were told by Dupleix that "though we (i e, Dupleix, Chanda Sahib and Muẓaffar Jang) had three bodies our life is one, peace cannot be made without me, that is, Dupleix and if the matter is to be settled satisfactorily, they must come here to Pondicherry." The two emissaries were Diwān Moropant and Qāẓī Aḥmad, otherwise known Qāẓī Dāyim or Dāyim Alī Khān. Qāẓī Dāyim was instructed to offer peace to Muẓaffar Jang. For details about the coming of Nāṣir Jang into the Deccan see the series of articles by C. S Srinivasachari on 'The Historical material in the Diary of Ananda Ranga Pillai" in *Journal of Indian History*, Vol. IX, Part III.

the princes possessing great power, the ornament of the throne in the court of glory and fame, the molester of the malevolent treading the wrong path, the bright candle of the famous family, the rightful successor of Sirāju'd-Dawla Muḥammad Khān-i-Jahān Anwaru'd-Dīn Khān Bahādur Shahāmat Jang (that the letter) reached me. The sincere and kind letter full of perturbing and sorrowful news, the confusion in the affairs of the land, the rashness and perversity of the misguided, the transgression of the wicked and the haughty, the iniquitous murder of Sirāju'd-Dawla Bahādur has afflicted and vexed my mind, and the rust of anguish and langour has settled so much on the mirror of time that it cannot increase any further. By the power and strength of Allāh, it is necessary to revenge the death of such a wise and brave amīr, who had been loyal to the emperor at Delhi. Hence it is my desire to march to those parts in order to punish the transgressors and support that commander of the army possessing sincerity. It behoves those wounded in heart to regard the happenings in this ephemeral world as only a dream and fanciful like a mirage and thus submit to the will of Allāh. They must be bold in attending to the administration of the affairs of the kingdom thinking that uprightness and justice are the essence of divine worship, and the best equipment for the next world. Thus they must attend to these duties with steadiness and composure of mind. In brief, you must endeavour to arrange the army and strengthen the fort of Nattharnagar. For my part, I shall cover the long distance and come to your help very soon; nay, I shall reach you along with this letter."

After sending this letter, Nawwāb Niẓāmu'd-Dawla Bahādur Nāṣir Jang set out without delay from Awrangābād on the 10th of Shawwāl of the year 1162 A.H. with 2,00,000 horse with a view to settle the affairs of the Carnatic. He reached the shores of the river Mānjara on the 14th of *Dhul-qa'da.* He crossed the river Krishna on the 17th of the Muḥarram of the

year 1163 A H When he hoisted his banner at Haskota after crossing the river Tungabhadra, Muhammad Mahfūẓ Khān Bahādur, under instructions from Hazrat-i-A'lā, marched with a large army, arms and accoutrements and the pompous banners of welcome He met some of the companions of the Wazīr near the camp, and felt happy and honoured when he attained the distinction of being presented to the Wazīr Muhammad Mahfūz Khān Bahādur received from the Wazīr Nāṣir Jang words of consolation at the martyrdom of Nawwāb Sirāju'd-Dawla Bahādur (may Allāh forgive him), was presented with a sword and a dagger and admitted to favour

Hidāyat Muhiyyu'd-Dīn Khān Bahādur and Husayn Dōst Khān were perplexed and distressed, had no money, dreaded that their army might desert them, and so plundered like marauding thieves the territory of the Carnatic from Arcot to Nellore and from Nellore to Tanjore, leaving Natthamagar alone which they could not enter as it was under the control of Hazrat-i-A'lā Since Hazrat-i-A'lā had written to the Wazīr Nāsir Jang about the desolation of the land and the high-handedness of the marauders and sought the assistance of the advance guard Mīr Dāyim 'Alī Khān, the *sardar* was ordered by the Wazīr to march with thirty thousand select horse. He took in his company Raja Sampath Rai and Raja Kishandās, the employees of the Nawwāb Sirāju'd-Dawla Bahādur who were imprisoned on the martyrdom of their master, but released along with Muhammad Mahfūẓ Khān Bahādur. Under instructions from Hazrat-i-A'lā they had accompanied Muhammad Mahfūẓ Khān Bahādur to receive the Wazīr of the Deccan Thus Mīr Dāyim 'Alī Khān and his companions marched with thirty thousand select horse, with the swiftness of an arrow shot from a bow, and rushed forward like a sword drawn from its sheath, against the two treacherous Khāns engaged in excessive looting of the land Learning that punishment was approaching, the two Khāns busied themselves

in collecting their scattered forces and homeless subjects on the *maydān* of Silambar[1] where they met with a sudden attack. In the meantime two bodies of troops despatched from Natthar-nagar under the leadership of Ghaẓanfar ʿAlī Khān and Muḥammad Abrār Khān, also appeared on the field and joined the attacking forces. The war trumpets were blown and the enemy got worsted even in the first charge. Shīshā Rāw,[2] the *bakhshī* of Ḥusayn Dōst Khān was slain, and his head was trodden under the feet of horses. The two defeated Khāns ran towards Phulcheri crestfallen.

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(1) Silambar is Chidambaram with its great temple fortified to serve as a fortress. It is situated a few miles north of the Coleroon near its mouth.

(2) Sesha Rao is mentioned, in the *Diary of Ananda Ranga Pillai*, as a great *jamadār* of horse. He attempted to take possession of a portion of the Trichinopoly country during the advance of Chanda Sahib on Tanjore. The following is the account given by Ananda Ranga Pillai: "Before nine o'clock on 4th of March 1750, the Mahrattas under Murari Rao and other *sardārs* surrounded the place with ten or twelve horse. A thousand of His Highness Chanda Sahib's horse were camped by Nagacheri, in Chidambaram, with Gopalanarayanappa Ayyan. When they were passing by Nandimanga-lam Mulamedukkuchevai on their way southwards to join their master at Mayavaram, the Mahrattas surrounded them, captured some of the horses, wounded Gopalanarayanappan in the hand, and carried him away with the elephant he was on. Some of the horsemen entered their bounds; and on this pretext, they plundered the town and caused disturbances. Thereupon His Highness Muḥammad Khān Sahib fired all the guns in the fort. Then *harkārs* came from Murari Rao and they bargained for a sum of 10,000 rupees. Soon after mid-day on Thursday, Sesha Rao and Shaykh Muḥammad Sharīf marched from Cholamandalam with 2,000 horse supported by a body of sepoys and crossed the Vallam ford. But the Mahrattas encountered and attacked them near the old Coleroon to the south of Chidambaram. Sesha Rao fought bravely but was shot dead" (*Ananda Ranga Pillai's Diary*: Vol. VI, p. 377).

Nawwab Nizamu'd-Daula Bahadur Nāsir Jang arrives at Pāyanghat, Hazrat-i-A'lā meets him at the qasba of Belpur, their march towards Phulcheri, the battle, the capture of Hidāyat Muhiyyu'd-Dīn Khan; the flight of Husayn Dost Khan and the French towards Phulcheri

The Nawwāb Wazīr marched after the advance guard of the army sent under Mīr Dāyim 'Alī Khān, brought Arcot under the shadow of his victorious standards and thus exhibited his friendship towards Hazrat-i-A'la who, experienced in all arts of sword-fight and skilled in overthrowing the enemy, had sent two (out of five) divisions of his army for the help of Mīr Dayim 'Alī Khān, now marched with the remaining three bodies of troops numbering forty-five thousand men, with guns and other implements of warfare, and joined the Wazīr encamped in the *qasba* of Belpur (Villupuram). Nawwab Nizāmu'd-Dawla Bahadur Nāsir Jang sent the *sardārs* of his army to receive Hazrat-i-A'la On his arrival the Wazīr rose from his seat to honour him, embraced him, and seated him After the customary condolences and professions of kindness and love, the Wazīr took Hazrat i Alā in his company and marched off

Hidāyat Muhiyyud-Dīn Khān and Husayn Dōst Khān, after their flight from the presence of Mīr Dāyim 'Alī Khān, collected the scattered men from all parts, and with the secret support of *jāgīrdārs* and others managed to present the semblance of an army composed of horse and infantry Then they came out of Phulcheri with the French army and artillery and pitched tents for the miserable herd at a distance of six *kurōh*. Nawwab Nasir Jang and Hazrat-i Ala reached very near the camp of the two Khāns, lost no time in pitching tents, and began the attack. Thus on that day and night neither master nor servant, neither the rider nor the ridden had any rest. Without the use of the sword or the spear, and by the discharge

of the cannon balls alone by the forces of the Wazīr and Amīru'l-Hind, the strength of the wicked enemy was exhausted and the battle came to an end. When Ḥusayn Dōst Khān and the commander of the French forces saw the firmness and boldness of the Wazīr's army, they had not the courage to oppose them. They turned the reins away from the field of battle, ran to Hidāyat Muḥiyyu'd-Dīn Khān, explained to him the situation, and suggested that some other time would be more suitable and a retreat to Phulcheri would be advisable in the circumstances. When they saw Hidāyat Muḥiyyu'd-Dīn Khān struggling between shame and repentance, they abandoned their friendship as suited their ill nature, and ran towards Phulcheri leaving the commander of the army alone and thus broke the glass of covenant on the stone of faithlessness. Hidāyat Muḥiyyu'd-Dīn Khān, anxious and friendless, grew sick and distressed and spent the whole night on the elephant's back. Next morning, on the 26th of Rabī'u'th-thānī, Mīr Muḥammad, his *bakhshī*, reached the camp of Nāṣir Jang and interceded on his behalf with earnest entreaties of repentance and regret. Just then Shāh Nawāz Khān[1] was ordered to bring Hidāyat Muḥiyyu'd-Dīn Khān as a prisoner to the camp, and it was obeyed.

(1) *Shāh Nawāz Khān securing the person of Muzaffar Jang.*—Shāh Nawāz Khān was always ill disposed towards the family of Anwaru'd-Dīn Khān and continued his enmity towards Nawwāb Wālājāh. He sympathised with the French, but was not able to persuade his master Nāṣir Jang, who demanded the surrender of Chanda Sahib and declined to give him the *ṣūba* of Arcot. Shāh Nawāz Khān and his *pēshkār*, Ramdas Pandit, in fact secretly seem to have encouraged the French and suggested to them that they should make upon the Niẓām's camp a night attack. The French attacked Nāṣir Jang's camp near Valudavur on the night of the 27th April, and killed and wounded nearly 1,000 men. Ananda Ranga Pillai says that Ramdas Pandit offered terms of peace by which Trichinopoly was to be given to Chanda Sahib and stated that Muḥammad 'Alī had been promised Arcot. Shāh Nawāz Khān, openly championed the cause of Chanda Sahib at the *darbār* of the Niẓām when Muḥammad 'Alī was present.

Ghaẓanfar ʿAlī Khān and Muhammad Abrār Khān pursued Ḥusayn Dōst Khān who had run away with the French army in the darkness of the night, and hastened as far as Phulcheri in search of him, but they could not find him. They plundered the baggage of his army and won the ball of bravery on the *maydan* of battle. The *raīs* of the Deccan reached his camp in great pomp and power. The jubilations of his victory reverberated throughout the land.

The arrival of a farman from Ahmad Shah Pādshāh in reply to the arzdāsht of Hazrat-i-Aʿlā with congratulations on his being entrusted with the kingdom of the Carnatic, and granting him manṣabs and titles through the dignified Wazīr.

Hidāyat Muhyyud-Dīn Khān had been taken prisoner, and the powerful Wazīr encamped in the field of victory. His army wearied by the continued fight of two days enjoyed rest. Next day, i.e., on the 27th of Rabīʿuth-thānī of the year 1163 A.H., the *farmān* of Ahmad Shāh Pādshāh in a golden casket was brought by two camel-riders as a reply to the *arzdasht* of Ḥaẓrat-i-Aʿlā, which bestowed on him eternal prosperity and great happiness. The Nawwāb Wazīr worthy of the beneficence of the Glorious Lord, prosperous with the kindness of the Almighty, the king of the open country, invited to his presence our Ḥaẓrat-i-Aʿlā, congratulated him and adorned his prosperous hands with the imperial *farman*. He then on behalf of the Padshāh granted to Ḥaẓrat-i-Aʿlā the country of the Carnatic with the title of Sirajud-Dawla Anwaru'd-Din Khān Bahādur Dilawar Jang (and the following distinctions) a *manṣab* of 5,000 *dhat*, and of 5,000 horse (with the right to drive either) a pair-horse or three horses, *mahī* and *marātib*,

(1) *Māhī marātib* was one of the ensigns of distinction of the Mughal Empire and was so called as it resembled a fish in shape. We learn from *Siyaru'l Muta'akhkhirīn* that it was made in the figure of a fish.

naubat, standards, the kettle-drum, palanquin with fringes, *khilʻat* out of Pādshāh's own wardrobe, a *jīgha*, and a gilded *sarpech*. The Wazīr adorned Ḥaẓrat-i-A'lā with the robe in his own presence, presented on his own authority a *khilʻat*, a sword, and a gilt handled dagger and issued the following order:—"Let the kettle-drum be sounded in our army-quarters for three days in succession, and then your drum will be sounded." Thus he doubled the glorious rank of Ḥaẓrat-i-A'lā. In brief, Ḥaẓrat-i-A'lā returned to his own camp joyfully and happily after obtaining the favours of the Pādshāh, enjoying the kindness of the Wazīr, and receiving the congratulations of his relatives. Then he arranged for an entertainment, invited all the men in the camp, both high and low, and read aloud to the great satisfaction of all present the imperial *farmān*[1] (which closed in the following words).

"It behoves that you feel thankful for these immense gifts and strive hard to attend to the administration of the *ṣūba* entrusted to you, conciliate the *mālguzārs*, admonish or chastise the mischievous, and expel the rebels or bring them back to obedience. You should also endeavour to help the Pādshāh in the best manner possible, give tranquillity to the subjects, prohibit drinks and unlawful things, quell disturbances, suppress pretensions, and settle disputes in accordance with the laws. All these must be worked out in such a manner that people living

four feet in length, of copper gilt, and it was placed horizontally on the point of a spear. Besides the fish there were other things as well, for instance, balls, of the same material as the fish. These balls had a circle round them and rested on the tops of long poles. Both the fish and the balls were carried on an elephant. This dignity was granted to the highest nobles. (Khosla; *Mughal Kingship and Nobility*: p. 298.)

(1) The author gives the *farmān* in extenso at the end of the chapter. As the language is courtly attempt is not made to translate the whole of it into English. As the part of the *farmān* which mentions titles and distinctions is already included by the author in the course of this chapter, it is left untranslated and the concluding portion alone is done into English.

in those parts may busy themselves with their work feeling safe and secure, that the weak may not be oppressed, and wrong may not be perpetrated We lay great stress on these points"

Hazrat-i-A'lā pleased all the guests by affability and suitable presents He submitted as _pēshkash_ to the Wazīr some trays filled with _khil'at_ of high value and different kinds of gems, two Arab horses, two 'Irāqī[1] horses and two elephants with gold and silver trappings

The desertion of the Afghān sardars and other commanders of the army owing to the incitement of Raja Ramdas, the peshkār-bakhshī of the army, their secret alliance with Hidayat Muhiyyu'd-Dīn Khān, the march of Nawwab Nasir Jang towards Arcot at the instigation of the conspirators, the troubles that beset the amīrs of Āsaf Jah and their march towards the Deccan Hazrat-i-A'lā seeks the help of the English from Devanampattan to put an end to the activities of the deceitful and the treacherous, the partition of the Carnatic among his brothers in accordance with the instructions of his father, (may Allāh be merciful to him), calling them his representatives and securing for them titles and mansabs from the Wazīr

On the 4th day (of the victory) Nawwāb Nāsir Jang desired to attack and subjugate the fort of Phulcheri, and bring back his sister, the mother of the imprisoned Khān, and to expel the rebellious French from the Deccan, nay from the land of India itself He kept the Khān under surveillance without any chastisement or punishment, in order that he might not aggrieve the mind of his sister and cut the tie of relationship Though the

(1) _Iraq_ Babylonia, Chaldea (extending in length from Abbadan to Mosul and in breadth from Kadisiya to Hulwan) 'Iraq i-'Ajam Persian Irak or Media, 'Iraq i 'Arab, Arabian Irak, Babylonia, Chaldea. Iraq was famous for a particular breed of horses.

nobles of the Wazīr established with clear proofs and decisive arguments that the existence of the Khān would augment mischief and ferment the humour of rebellion and that his destruction would be a prudent measure which would strengthen the hands of the *sarkār*, yet Nāṣir Jang, out of pity and regard for his sister, not only condoned his treachery but also appointed servants to look to his comforts. Neither did he ever make an attempt on his life nor try to deprive his companions and counsellors of their possessions. But the enemies of justice, namely, Himmat Bahādur Khān, the *jāgīrdār* of Cuddappah, 'Abdu'n-Nabī Khān, the *nāẓim* of Kurnool, Bahlū'l-Khān, who was the son of 'Abdu'l-Majīd Khān[1] and the *ta'alluqdār* of Bankāpūr, without any regard to the blessings of kindness, or consideration for the benefits and favours, forgetting the chastisement of the Supreme Avenger, out of vain greed for power and riches, joined Raja Ramdas. This Raja Ramdas who was a servant receiving the wages of one *hun* in the government of Nawwāb Shahīd when he was the *nāẓim* at Chicacole, gradually rose to importance in the court of Āṣaf Jāh. Later, by the kindness of Nawwāb Niẓāmu'd-Dawla Bahādur Nāṣir Jang he was given the title of Raja and was promoted to the position of the *pēshkār-bakhshī* of the army. These men conspired among themselves. Then they joined some other ungrateful men and engaged themselves in getting ready the things—that would cause their own defeat—for the purpose of improving and strengthening the position of the imprisoned Hidāyat Muḥiyyu'd-Dīn Khān. They came to an understanding with the French that they would induce Nāṣir Jang, by some means or other, to go away to Arcot, to divert him from his thoughts of laying siege to Phulcheri, and thus gain time. For, they anticipated

(1) 'Abdu'l-Majīd Khān was the Nawwāb of Savanur and Bankāpūr. He accompanied Nāṣir Jang to the Carnatic. The Nawwābs of Savanur claimed descent from the Bahmanī sultan Fīrōzshāh. Nothing is known of the son of 'Abdu'l-Majīd Khān.

that in the meanwhile the army would be distressed on account of the long journeys and become scattered, and that they could achieve the precious object of their endeavour

The Wazīr of the Deccan stayed in that victorious place merely for refreshing his army On the fourth day he gave orders to march, intimating his idea of laying siege to Phulcheri The conspirators then understood that the subjugation of Phulcheri and the destruction of the French were certain, and imagined that it would go against their vain and false hopes Since their plans were frustrated, they became dejected, and proceeded to devise other plans They said to the Wazīr

"Had Hidāyat Muhiyyu'd-Dīn Khān been in the enemy's camp it would not have mattered if your highness set out in person towards Phulcheri But now he is your prisoner by the grace of the felicity that would crush foes It is not becoming that your highness should march against the French who are merchants, and against Ḥusayn Dōst Khān, who is a servant. It does not behove your dignity and power In the circumstances it will be enough if you give the command to one of your servants who will execute it successfully, and it is advisable for your highness to fix the standard of the prosperous cavalcade at Arcot which is the station for rulers"

The Nawwāb replied "Though your observations bear testimony to your good faith, yet it is irreconcilable with the customary honour to leave our sister, namely, the mother of Hidāyat Muhiyyu'd-Dīn Khān, in the port of Phulcheri and in the territory of a people who are enemies I will not retrace my steps unless I attain my desire"

On hearing this reply, the conspirators had no other alternative but to keep quiet and put the seal of silence on their lips The whole day was spent in this discussion On the approach of evening, the Wazīr postponed the march of the army to the next morning Immediately the conspirators deemed it to be a favourable opportunity and hastened to

devise another plan. They instigated through spies Ḥusayn Dōst Khān and the French to march during the latter part of the night and attack the army of the Wazīr Nāṣir Jang. The mean-minded and deceitful people marched accordingly out of the fort of Phulcheri with their army like thieves, and fell upon the forces of the Nawwāb during the early hours of the morning. On one side they began the attack with vehemence, but ran away on the other side. The camp was very extensive, and so many were not aware of the incident. Further, there was no great damage. But the conspirators made out from this an argument in support of their suggestion, and again came forward with renewed vigour to submit the same suggestion which was not accepted before by the Wazīr. They submitted: "Though the last night's attack by the mean-minded merchants was like the coming and going of a thief in secret, and though it was not known to the major part of the army and did not cause any damage, yet such acts were consistent with their short-sightedness, and proofs of their vain ideas. But their rash act will encourage others to imitate them. As a result, the bat will claim equality with the sun, and the *kuttān* will attempt to open the tongue of vanity and vie with the moonlight. However, it becomes your exalted authority to punish this impudence, yet this procedure is not suited to your rank. The consequence of your confronting them in person will be that they will feel themselves honoured, and further it will make them conceited. Supposing that during the siege these vile men resort to such indecent actions and allow the humours of deceit to flow, then it will not be graceful. Its publicity as far as Shājahānābād among your equals will not become the high and honourable name of your highness. Hence, the most appropriate course in the circumstances will be to camp at Arcot, and to appoint one of the servants like us for this work."

In brief, the Nawwāb Wazīr was deceived by these arguments, and he gave orders for the army to march towards Arcot. Sayyid Lashkar Alī Khān[1] and other amīrs of Āṣaf Jāh understood the motive underlying these facts, and secretly informed the Wazīr of the mischief of the conspirators and said: "In the circumstances nothing seems to be more advisable than to do one of the three following:—

(1) Your Highness should proceed in person to pull down and subdue the fort of Phulcheri. This great work should not be entrusted to this or that person. The enemy should not be considered as weak and helpless.

(2) If the design to march towards Arcot is resolved upon, it is better to set out directly towards the Deccan. At present, Hidāyat Muḥiyyu'd-Dīn Khān who is a prisoner, may be nominated as the *nāẓim* of the Carnatic for the purpose of extinguishing the blaze of mischief. Further two well-known *sardārs* with proper forces may be appointed for his help, and the rulers round about may be ordered to assist him.

(3) The order for the execution of the prisoner (Hidāyat Muḥiyyu'd-Dīn Khān) may be passed so that the present mischief and confusion caused by the conspirators may come to an end.

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(1) Sayyid Lashkar Khān was one of the four *dīwāns* of Niẓāmul-Mulk. He accompanied Nāṣir Jang to the Carnatic and took great interest in him, but the latter imprudently sent him back to the Deccan. He could have saved Nāṣir Jang from the catastrophe that overtook him, if he had not been sent to suppress some trouble at Awrangābād soon after the army retired from Pondichery to Arcot. He was at Awrangābād when Nawwab Ṣalābat Jang and M. Bussy arrived there. He detested the dominance of the French at the *niẓām's* court, but carefully concealed his opinions. Later on he thwarted M. Bussy and tried to wean Ṣalābat Jang from his trust in the French, but was ultimately forced to cede them the Northern Circars (1753). He was dismissed from office in 1756 and replaced by Shāh Nawāz Khān.

Whatever suits your exalted opinion may be done, either you may go out to the Deccan or stay at Arcot. It does not matter whichever is done to suit the occasion."

The Nawwāb replied: "It is all the same whether I stay here or at Arcot. My presence in either of these places will be useful for the siege of Phulcheri. Whatever we intend may be done after we reach Arcot." On hearing this reply the well-wishers held their breath, and never again employed their tongues to say 'Yes' or 'No'. When the army of the Nawwāb reached Arcot, and the wishes of the wicked men were fulfilled, contrary to the advice of the well-wishers, Sayyid Lashkar Khān, and other amīrs of Āṣaf Jāh had not the heart to witness the certain consequences of these affairs, and before any such thing happened, they took leave of the Wazīr to visit the two holy places Makka and Madīna. Thus they severed their connection with the army of the Wazīr and travelled towards the Deccan for the purpose of bidding farewell to their families and relations. Ḥaẓrat-i-A'lā also became aware of the possible consequences and according to the advice of his noble father, he invited from the adjoining Devanampattan the English whom he found to be bold and trustworthy. He permitted them to remain in his company. He got the *sardār* of the English forces the proud distinction of an interview with the Wazīr of the mighty empire. Then he conveyed the request of the English *sardār* to the Wazīr that the taluk of Poonamalle[1] be

(1) Muḥammad 'Alī had given the English the hope of the grant of the *jāgīr* of Poonamalle. Later, Nāṣir Jang was persuaded on one occasion to order Muḥammad 'Alī to sever his relationship with the English. But Muḥammad 'Alī managed to give a large bribe to Ram Das Pandit through Raja Sampat Rai and Raja Bashan Das and to persuade the Wazīr to see that the order for the expulsion of the English was withdrawn. This was prior to the defeat of Muḥammad 'Alī at the hands of the French at Tiruvati. Afterwards, the English appointed Major Lawrence and another, Foss Westcott, to be ambassadors to Nāṣir Jang with instructions to procure confirmation of Muḥammad 'Alī's grants at Fort St. David and at Madras and also for a grant

granted in return for the subjugation of Phulcheri Then he permitted the English forces to encamp near his own He divided the kingdom of the Carnatic among his brothers in accordance with the partition resolved upon by his father and appointed them as his representatives The *sūba* of Arcot was entrusted to Muhammad Mahfūz Khān Bahādur, the *sūba* of Nellore to Abdul Wahhāb Khān Bahādur, and some taluks to Muhammad Najibullah Khan Bahādur He made his elder brother distinguished by the title of Shahāmat Jang which he secured from the Nawwāb Nasir Jang He honoured his brother and Muhammad Najībullah Khan with the titles of Nusrat Jang and Bahādur respectively, both got from the Nawwāb Nāsir Jang

The rebellion of Husayn Dōst Khan and the French at the instigation of the deceitful traitors, their capture of the forts of Tiruvati[1] and Chingleput with the connivance of the qilʿadārs who were of the Nāit community, the fight with Ṣaff Shikan Khān and his son and the defeat, the appointment of Tahmāst Khan, the Turk, his victory and death

The amīrs, the boon companions of the Wazīr, had left for the Deccan, their native home, thus the Wazīr was left severely alone Besides, he was wearied and worn with long

of the Poonamalle district This was in April 1750 After some delay they did not agree to the plans suggested by Nasir Jang for an attack on Wandiwash and for an expedition to raise tribute in Tanjore So, Lawrence and his troops marched back in May to Fort St David

(1) The pagoda of Tiruvati associated in tradition with Saint Appar and the revivalist Saivaite movement of the 7th century, lay about 15 miles to the west of Fort St David, and served as a citadel to a large village It made no resistance to the French attack, and the French troops (50 Europeans and 100 sepoys) were placed as a garrison in it The capture of this fort established French authority south of the Pennar river. Muhammad Ali fearing that the French might make further inroads southwards, requested permission from Nasir Jang to take the field against

travel. The wicked and perfidious men thought this a favourable opportunity for the execution of their design. They proceeded to exhibit their acts of iniquity and rejoiced at their dastardly design. They instigated the *jāgīrdārs* of the Nāiṭ community to supply the necessary things required by the French army, for the Nāiṭs who belonged to the same stock as Ḥusayn Dōst Khān were waiting long for such an opportunity. Since the word *ho* is sufficient to excite a madman, every one grasped the opportunity and was ready with animals, provisions and other implements to the extent of his ability. The French were strengthened by their assistance. According to their advice, the conspirators first attacked the fort of Tiruvati which was contiguous to Phulcheri and subdued it in two days. Then they got ready implements of warfare and provisions and descended on Chingleput[1], the *jāgīr* of the son of Ṣaff Shikan Khān. After devastating the neighbouring villages and townships they encamped underneath the shade of cypress trees on the hill adjoining the fort. When the sword fell on the head of

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Tiruvati; but the Wazīr was so angry with the English for having refused to accompany him to Arcot that it was some time before he permitted his vassal Muḥammad 'Alī to ask their assistance, and even when he consented he would not allow even his own name to be used in requesting the English help. The English being assured by Muḥammad 'Alī that he would defray all their expenses ordered a body of 400 Europeans and 1,500 sepoys to take the field. Then the Nawwāb marched from Arcot with a numerous army. He encamped before Gingee and waited for the English troops to join him. Then the armies moved towards Fort St. David, and camped on the plain of Tiruvendipuram waiting for two cannons and military stores. As soon as these arrived, they marched towards the end of July against the French.

(1) Chingleput fell into the hands of the French who defeated and slew its *qil'adār* Durgadas Khān. Ananda Ranga Pillai tells us in his diary (Vol. VII, Entry for June 3, 1750) that Lala Veedichand, the *āmildār* of Chingleput, was a friend of his, and his father-in-law Seshadri Pillai was the palayagar of the place. Hence the capture of Chingleput by the French must have been comparatively easy. The French troops that had occupied Chingleput even threatened the safety of Conjeeveram.

the *jāgīrdār,* he woke up to the danger, sprang like a wounded beast, and brought the disgrace of a runaway on the honour of his house. On hearing the attack of the French and the flight of his son, Ṣaff Shikan Khān hurried thither with the available troops, and in the darkness of the night pitched his tents near the camp of the French, who seized the opportunity, fell upon him and scattered his confounded forces. Ṣaff Shikan Khān ran away as his son did. The French occupied the fort. The mind of the good Nawwāb Wazīr was confounded with the successive reverses, the loss of the two forts, and the defeat of the father and the son. The Nawwāb desired to march in person for the purpose of shattering the vessel of pride of the enemy. But the conspirators were there again to prevent any good work, and they did not like the fulfilment of the Wazīr's desire. They submitted: "This is not the proper time for your highness to march in person to punish the enemy; for,

(1) the army is not in good spirits owing to the long journey;

(2) the rainy season is fast approaching;

(3) the French have gained strength as they have received reinforcements from their different ports; and

(4) the bad repute of your highness meeting face to face these low men, will spread throughout the land and reach as far as Shājahānābād. The proper course becoming your power and dignity will be to depute two intelligent *sardārs* at the head of a strong and experienced army to accomplish the work in the two places, which will easily settle the affair."

In brief, according to their advice, Ṭahmāst Khān, the Turk, an able *sardār* holding a *manṣab* from the Pādshāh was despatched to Chinglepat. Our Ḥaẓrat-i-A'lā was chosen to settle the affairs of the fort of Tiruvati. Accordingly the two *sardārs* marched with their forces to their respective places

of action and girded up their loins to exhibit their faithfulness. As soon as the Turk, Ṭahmāst Khān, reached Chingleput, he ascended the hill with his army, where the French had encamped, and exerted himself in scattering the leaves in the garden of the enemy's forces. Those of the French who escaped his sword, ran down the hill slope. The victorious Khān pursued them, striking them with his sword. Many heads were broken by the hoofs of the horses, swift as wind. In this excitement which resembled the resurrection day, one French soldier from among the scattered group was hiding himself in fear underneath a stone on the way. As the Khān passed by him, his eyes caught sight of that furious lion. Immediately he lost his senses in fear. The loaded gun which he used as a walking stick in his distressed condition slipped from his hand and exploded on striking against the earth, while the bullet struck the Khān. Thus the great commander of the forces was killed, and this incident furnished illustration of the proverb, "the jackal gets bold to pounce upon the lion, the raven to hunt the hawk."

Ḥaẓrat-i-A'lā lays siege to the fort of Tiruvati but postpones its subjugation on receipt of instructions from Nawwāb Nāṣir Jang to drive away the community of the English from Devanampattan; Nāṣir Jang appoints Abdu'n-Nabī Khān and Himmat Bahādur Khān to destroy the place; the pain and grief of Ḥaẓrat-i-A'lā who after great endeavours restrains the two Khāns from executing the commands; the defeat of Ṣaff Shikan Khān at the fort of Tiruvati, by the French, who in turn were put to rout by Ḥaẓrat-i-A'lā

Ḥaẓrat-i-A'lā attacked the fort of Tiruvati[1] with his own army and that of the English Owing to the severity of the siege and the firing of the guns by the English forces the besieged were reduced to such narrow straits that the fort was about to fall On account of the severe cannonading the hour

(1) Captain Cope persuaded the Nawwāb to march against Tiruvati, and the army appeared before the place on the first of August, and summoned the garrison which refused to surrender. He proposed to the Nawwāb to order his troops to scale the walls and make a general assault, while the English should batter down the gates. The Nawwab's troops however refused to do so, and the army then marched towards the French encampment the next morning There was cannonading between the two forces from noon till night. The English quitted their ground with the loss of 10 Europeans and 50 sepoys. The Nawwāb lost 200 men and the French were secured behind the entrenchments and suffered much loss Muhammad Ali felt very much depressed at this repulse and proposed to march towards the west; but Captain Cope had been instructed not to march beyond any of the French posts lest his communication with Fort St David should be cut off. The Nawwab and Captain Cope could not agree, and Major Lawrence, who now commanded at Fort St. David, ordered the troops under Cope to leave the Nawwāb and march back to the settlement. As soon as the English had begun to retreat, towards the close of August, Dupleix ordered the main body of the French troops at Valudavur to join the camp at Tiruvati. The whole force consisted of 1,200 Europeans, 2,500 sepoys and 1,000 horse, the last levied by

of subjugation was thought to be at hand. On being informed of this situation, Ḥusayn Dōst Khān and Dupleix immediately wrote to the conspirators as follows: "It is certain that the fortress of Phulcheri will be reduced to narrow straits in case the fort of Tiruvati goes out of our hands on account of the brave attack of Nawwāb Sirāju'd-Dawla (Ḥaẓrat-i-A'lā) and the intrepidity of the English. It is prudence to find a remedy before the calamity happens. Work out such a plan that will end the friendship of the English with Nawwāb Sirāju'd-Dawla."

The conspirators became vigilant at this suggestion. They recalled to their minds a former request of the English through Ḥaẓrat-i-A'lā, seeking the grant of the *jāgīr* of Poonamalle in return for their undertaking to subjugate Phulcheri. Further they saw clearly the inevitable expulsion of the French and the destruction of their settlements. Hence they submitted to the Wazīr the following arguments in such a manner as to deceive him.

"Sirāju'd-Dawla Bahādur had secured the friendship of the English by giving them the hope of the grant of the *jāgīr* of Poonamalle. If the power and will of Ḥusayn Dōst Khān and Hidāyat Muḥiyyu'd-Dīn Khān had not invested the French with authority, all this mischief and anarchy proceeding from the injustice of the Christians would not have happened at all in

Chanda Sahib together with twelve field pieces. The disposition of Muḥammad 'Alī's army has been noted above. On the first of September, the French advanced to attack Muḥammad 'Alī's camp. There were cavalry on each wing and their artillery were in the front. They marched briskly up to the entrenchment which the Nawwāb's troops immediately abandoned. The French entered the camp, brought up their artillery and began to fire upon the cavalry troops. The result was that horse and foot fled promiscuously, and many were pushed directly into the river. This victory was obtained by the French without the loss of a man, and none was wounded excepting those who suffered by the explosion of a tumbrel. (Orme, Vol. I, 4th Edn., pp. 150-1.)

this kingdom of your highness. At present the preference (of Ḥaẓrat-i-A'lā) for the English and the promise of the grant of the taluk of Poonamalle (to them) do not appear to be untainted with deceit. What troubles it may give birth to and to what extent it may bring disappointments are not known. The removal of such evils (if allowed to grow) will become an arduous task; the remedy for these troubles is beyond our reason and intelligence."

In brief, the Nawwāb's mind was agitated on listening to this. Immediately he resolved that the territory of the Deccan, nay the whole of India, should be freed from all *frang* merchants. Accordingly he issued a strict order to Ḥaẓrat-i-A'lā requiring him to sever his relationship with the English and to drive them from their settlements. He appointed 'Abdu'n-Nabī Khān[1] and Himmat Bahādur Khān[2], the *nāẓims* of Cuddapah and Kurnool to subjugate Devanampattan and Chennapattan. On this account the mind of Ḥaẓrat-i-A'lā was wounded. On learning the mischief of these pernicious men and the plans of the conspirators,

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(1) 'Abdu'n-Nabi Khān, succeeded to the Nawwābship of Cuddapah, which was an extensive power including Siddhout, Gandikotta, Cumbum, Gurramkonda and Punganoor. He also accompanied Nāṣir Jang on his expedition to the Carnatic and took a prominent part in the assassination of the Wazir. He ruled Cuddapah from S. S. 1658 to S. S. 1659, and died in 1747. He was followed for brief periods by Alaf Khān and his brother Ranad Allāh Khān and then by Alaf Khān's son, Himmat Bahādur who reigned twenty years. [p. VII of C. P. Brown's Extract from the Cyclic Tables of Hindu and Mohomadan Chronology in his *Ephemeris* (A.D. 1751 to 1850)—Madras (1850)].

(2) *Himmat Bahādur Khān, the nāẓim of Kurnool*: It was during the rule of Himmat that the Mahrattas invaded his territory. Himmat Bahādur Khān along with the other Pathan Nawwābs such as 'Abdu'n-Nabī Khān of Cuddapah, and the Nawwāb of Bankāpūr secretly worked on the French side. After the assassination of Nāṣir Jang and of Muẓaffar Jang, Kurnool was besieged and carried off by assault in March 1751 by the Wazir Salābat Jang and the French General M. Bussy.

he feared that, if the English be expelled, the strength of the French would certainly increase; Phulcheri would become the shelter for the enemies and it would be the perennial source for confusion. In these circumstances he recalled to his mind the advice of his father and firmly resolved to continue to befriend the English. In great anguish and sorrow he withdrew from the siege of Tiruvati and hastened to Arcot. He sent a large sum of money from the collection of the revenues of Arcot to Raja Ramdas[1], the *bakhshī* of the Wazīr's army, through Raja Sampat Rai, his *dīwān*, and Rai Ganga Bashan who had been the treasurer since his father's time. This Rai Ganga Bashan[2], otherwise styled as Bashan Das, was an old friend of Raja Ramdas from the time of their office in Chicacole. Hazrat-i-A'lā confided to Raja Ramdas his secret in the following manner: "Though I should leave off my friendship with the English in obedience to the command of the Wazīr, I request your favour for allowing them to continue in their present position and save

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(1) Raja Ram Das or Raghunath Das was a Brahmin, born in Chicacole and originally known as Ramdas Pandit. He was called by Grant Duff 'The traitor Ramdas.' He was in the confidence of Nāṣir Jang, but was secretly in favour of Muzaffar Jang's elevation. He communicated to Sayyid Lashkar Khān and others of Muzaffar Jang's party all that passed with Nāṣir Jang. Mīr Dāyim 'Alī Khān warned Nāṣir Jang against the intended treachery of the Pathan Nawwābs and the evil disposition of Raja Ramdas even on the very eve of the Wazīr's assassination. Nāṣir Jang even gave an order for the killing of Muzaffar Jang, but Raja Ramdas bribed the executors and sought to delay them. It was after the elevation of Muzaffar Jang to the *nizamat* that Ramdas got the title of Raja Raghunath Das. Later on he became the *dīwān* of Nawwāb Ṣalābat Jang, but was killed soon after by some Afghān soldiers of the army whose officer he had insulted. Raja Raghunath Das was greatly devoted to French interests. He was succeeded in office by Sayyid Lashkar Khān.

(2) Ganga Bashan *alias* Bashandas was in the service of Nawwāb Anwaru'd-Dīn Khān, when the latter was in charge of Chicacole. His friendship with Raja Ramdas seems to have dated from that period.

them from the calamity of expulsion. Else it will be proclaimed as far as Europe that such destruction befell that community because of my friendship." The Raja received the amount from the two mediators, who, with sweet words and with the familiarity of their long friendship, endeavoured to recommend (Ḥaẓrat-i-A'lā's wishes) to his favour. Then the Raja listened to the message and agreed to the proposal.

Ḥaẓrat-i-A'lā then appeared before the Wazīr, in the company of Shāh Nawāz Khān the *dīwān*, and Mīr Dāyim 'Alī Khān, and when the Wazīr was alone he represented thus: "The present rebellion of the French is directed mainly to disturb the peace of other *frang* merchants. Perhaps this may lead to their union also, which will not find appreciation at the hands of far-sighted statesmen, according to the wisdom contained in the verse:

'If ants unite among themselves, they will eat away the skin of the fierce lion.'

Thus he prevented the two *sardārs* from marching against the settlements of the English Then he took leave of the Wazīr and reached Tiruvati He comforted with overflowing words of encouragement the English whose friendship is based on fidelity, and who are sincere and loyal. He honoured and glorified their *sardār* with presents of *Khil'at* and a beautiful horse, and sent him to Devanampattan. After his departure Ḥaẓrat-i-A'lā was distressed on account of great sorrow. He wished to withdraw from the siege of Tiruvati, but on account of the fear of the various kinds of suspicions (that might be cast on him) he did not abandon the work entrusted to him. Here the following event has to be narrated.

During the progress of the compilation of this book, when the narrative had proceeded thus far, the author according to

custom read it out to Hazrat-i-A'lā who listening to the portion which related to his going to Arcot from Tiruvati for the purpose of protecting the English, and to his conversations with Raja Ramdas and the Wazīr, recalled to his mind the anxiety and exertions he underwent for the solution of such difficulties, and shed tears. Then he offered his thanks to the Almighty Lord, and said: "I have helped and protected the English whenever they were in trouble, not only of my own generosity, but also out of respect for the advice of my father who suffered martyrdom (may Allāh be merciful to him). On all occasions I have helped them amply. I have brought my influence to bear on all their activities in such a way that in the whole of India none has the courage to oppose them now. The French with all their power drowned their proud army like Pharaoh in the river Nile and became annihilated." Then he called both his exalted sons, narrated past events, and addressed them as follows:

"It is incumbent on you, my beloved and lovely sons, to be the friends and well-wishers of the English. You must bear in mind my patronage of the English and the advice of my father, and you should also make your posterity abide by this course. In the same manner it behoves every Englishman to be sincere in preserving the power and authority of my descendants as long as he continues to reside in India. If there be any deviation from this rule on the part of either, he will not be considered as a good member of his group."

I now resume the thread of my narration. In brief, for two months nothing could be done at Tiruvati which was about to fall. Eventually Ṣaff Shikan Khān, in obedience to the order of the Wazīr of the Deccan, marched from Arcot with an army to help the besiegers; and on reaching Tiruvati he descended on one side of the fort. The French who had already gained experience in the battle at Chingleput, here also suddenly sallied

out from the fort at three o'clock in the evening and defeated the forces of Ṣaff Shikan Khān[1].

The newcomers, namely, the army and the commander, who were unprepared for this sudden attack, did not sustain the fight even for a while, and were easily dispersed as in the previous battle. Our Ḥaẓrat-i-A'lā hastened with his brave army for the help of the defeated Khān. But he did not find any trace of him, and hence he returned. In the meanwhile, the army of the night surrounded the whole world. The French found their opportunity to attack the empty battlements and devastated them. The wise Ḥaẓrat-i-A'lā thought that fighting in the darkness of the night was opposed to the rules of nature and retired to the *maydān* of Tirkalūr (Tirukoilur). Next morning as soon as he saw the French arraying their army for battle he hastened to attack them. The brave soldiers on both sides exhibited their bravery violently and furiously. Seeing the flashing of the swords and the consequent destruction of the enemy by Ḥaẓrat-i-A'lā on that day, the ingenious in the modes of warfare, the brave fighters in the field, found themselves helpless. They became powerless out of confusion and stretched out their hands in prayer for victory and success. Just then in the heat of battle, a cannon ball fell so near the left leg of Ḥaẓrat-i-A'lā that the horse on which he rode fell down and his foot was also injured. Though his foot was not blown away, yet the skin and the bone were scorched. Even after the wound was healed and the passing of many days pieces of bones could be felt by the touch of the hand. Yet Ḥaẓrat-i-A'lā sits, moves about and walks as usual, nay, it is difficult for the swiftpaced men to keep pace with his normal walking for a distance of two or three *kurohs*. In short, after great endeavour, and excessive sword play the enemy was

(1) *French victories over the forces of Ṣaff Shikan Khān.*—This refers to the cannonade on the 31st of July near Tiruvati directed by the French on the enemy.

defeated and made to flee as usual. Then Ḥaẓrat-i-A'lā returned victorious to the *maydān* at Chenjī with heavy booty taken from the enemy. After the sick had been nursed, he wished to employ the same victorious army in laying siege to the fort of Tiruvati, and plaguing the besieged. But the Wazīr, who was deceived by the conspirators suddenly recalled him to his presence. Thus once again the prey escaped the claw.

The fort of Chenjī passes into the hands of the French;[1] *the march of the Nawwāb Nāṣir Jang at the instigation of the conspirators; the night attack of the French, and the martyrdom of the Nawwāb by means of bullets that proceeded from Himmat Bahādur Khān, the nāẓim of Kurnool.*

As soon as Ḥaẓrat-i-A'lā marched from Chenjī in obedience to the command of the Nawwāb Wazīr and reached Arcot, Ḥusayn Dōst Khān and the French found the battle-field empty of the fighters and quickly busied themselves again at the

(1) *The French capture of Gingee.*—A detachment of 250 Europeans and 1,200 sepoys and 4 field pieces under M. Bussy was sent in advance by M. Dupleix to attack the strong fortress of Gingee by surprise, while the main body of the French troops under D'Auteuil followed at a distance. About 5,000 of the fugitives from the Tiruvati had taken refuge in the pettah of Gingee and were encamped under the walls of the fort. They were protected by some pieces of artillery under the Europeans. M. Bussy waited for the main body of the French army to join him. He advanced and attacked the troops encamped outside the walls, took possession of the artillery and killed most of the Europeans. He then petarded one of the gates of the outer wall on the plain, got possession of it with very little loss of men, and shortly before nightfall the French entered the town and barricaded the streets; but they were exposed to a continual fire from the three rocks which served as citadels to the fort. They bombarded the forts with mortars and with artillery fire until the moonset. This was the signal to storm the fortifications on the hills and the Europeans attacked the three hills at the same time and carried away all the redoubts and by daybreak were in possession of them having lost in all only 20 men in the different attacks. M. Bussy himself felt sure that he could not have succeeded in the attack if it had been in the daylight. The great reputation of the strength of Gingee considerably raised the fame of

instigation of the conspirators. They subjugated the fort of Chenjī and secured for themselves a strong asylum. On learning this news the Wazīr issued an order to Ḥazrat-i-A'lā commanding him to send his army to lay siege to Chenjī and to be actively engaged in preserving that district in such a way as to prevent any succour coming from the port of Phulcheri to the besieged. Accordingly Ḥazrat-i-A'lā sent Muḥammad Abrār Khān, his *bakhshī*, with a well-equipped army. The Khān obeyed the order, surrounded the fort of Chenjī, and blockaded the entrances on all sides, so that it became impossible for the besieged to get anything, even a straw-blade. The Khān went ahead of the troops which conveyed provisions from the forts of Phulcheri and Tiruvati, and charged them; only very few ran away for their lives, leaving their beasts of burden to be looted, escaped the hands of death and reached Tiruvati. One of the companions of Muḥammad Abrār Khān, by name Muẓaffar, a Mughal of Tūrāni origin, displayed his bravery in that battle; single-handed, he slew forty Frenchmen; thus the sharpness of his merciless sword came out of this test, and he himself attained the rank of a martyr. On learning this the instigators were perturbed and despaired of their stay at the fort of Chenjī. So they devised a new plan. They caused in the mind of the Wazīr a fear that the forces at Chingleput would attack the temple of Kanjī which was like a fort, and constrained him to issue a strict order commanding the forces of Ḥazrat-i-A'lā to protect Kanjī, in spite of the fact that Ḥazrat-i-A'lā submitted with clear arguments his necessity for the army. Our helpless Ḥazrat-i-A'lā recalled Muḥammad Abrār Khān from Chenjī, and sent him to Kanjī reinforced by his own forces. Ḥazrat-i-A'lā was thus left alone with his own

the French, and the loss of this fortress awakened Nāṣir Jang at last to a sense of the seriousness of the situation. For details of the exploits of the capture of this famous fortress, *see* Orme, Vol. I, pages 151-2; Malleson's *History of the French in India*, new edition and M. Martineau's *Dupleix et l'Inde Française*, Vol. III, pp. 134-8.

attendants. However much he attempted, he could not get the army to his side; and the *maydān* of jollity became secure for the French and the mischief-mongers; the hand of enmity was emboldened to plunder the land.

Nawwāb Nāṣir Jang, according to the decree of fate which falls alike on high and low and overtakes amīr and *faqīr*, marched out of Arcot in heavy rain, as advised by his companions fermenting with deceit, and encamped on the *maydān* of Chenjī. There being heavy rain, rapid floods, and ups and downs, they encamped at different places. The whole army became divided into many groups, each camping at a raised place safe from the danger of the floods.

The intelligent and sagacious Ḥaẓrat-i-A'lā submitted the following precaution:

"Because of the heavy downpour, the thick flood, and the nearness of the enemy's encampment, this place will serve as a means for treachery; hence the encampment at this place is opposed to loyal counsel. It is better to encamp on the *maydān* adjoining the *qasba* of Belpur (Villupuram), for it is very extensive, its level high, and the whole army could be gathered at one place." The Nawwāb took the suggestion and fixed the next day for manœuvre. But Khān 'Ālam who was then present, said that Wednesday was inauspicious and suggested the auspicious Thursday. The day after the next was fixed upon by the Wazīr accordingly.

Mīr Sayfullāh, the agent of the ignoble traitors, had already gone to Ḥusayn Dōst Khān and the French to settle terms. He made sure of them by oath and covenant and returned by Thursday. Mīr Dāyim 'Alī Khān, the *sardār* of the advanced guard of the army, learnt what had happened; that very night he appeared before the Wazīr, and presented for consideration all the facts in detail, from the beginning: the treachery of the accursed traitors, the wickedness of the Afghāns, the evil disposition of the mean and ungrateful Raja

Ramdas, the union of these with Hidāyat Muḥiyyu'd-Dīn Khān, the plot of the enemies through the mediation of Mīr Sayfullāh, and the impending treachery of the Afghāns that very night. But fate had prepared the implements for the destruction of the Wazīr. By reason of his faith in these ignoble men, namely, the Afghāns, who found in his reign, repose and affluence instead of the disgrace they had suffered during the days of Āṣaf Jāh, the Wazīr thought that the representations of Mīr Dāyim 'Alī Khān were due to wild fancy and fear, and did not approve of them. He observed: "What have I done to these people for which they behave treacherously towards me and join hands with others?" On listening to this reply the speaker sealed his lips, and in sorrow smote violently on his breast with his finger nails.

In short that very night about 3 o'clock the French came out of Chenjī, gradually marched out cannonading without any opposition or molestation. The Nawwāb Wazīr who is to receive the honour of martyrdom, pulled off the cotton of negligence from the ear of wariness and realised the situation. Immediately he sent for Hidāyat Muḥiyyu'd-Dīn Khān for the purpose of killing him. The latter was reading the Qurān in pretence, while Raja Ramdas bribed the executors and sought to delay them. Since money overcomes all considerations and the greed of wealth tops all desires, the executors delayed their purpose. Other men who came after them were also bought off in the same manner. By that time the French had come near; the Wazīr who had had ablutions, did them once again, and put on his turban. Contrary to his practice during the times of war, he did not wear any armour or coat of mail, but put on a close-fitting white dress and did not adorn his body with arms. Before he got on his elephant he stood before a mirror, and addressed his reflection three times with his baptised name "Oh Mīr Aḥmad! may God preserve you!" He took his seat in the *'imari*, and seated

his women also in it. Then he ordered the mahout to stand aside. Part of the army were unaware of the French attack or were hindered by the heavy floods; part were negligent or pretended ignorance; thus the whole army became scattered. There was none near or around the elephant on which the Wazīr rode, except some *bāndārs* and torch bearers. The rebellious enemy was advancing gradually. In the meanwhile the day dawned and the Nawwāb caught sight of two elephants on which rode 'Abdu'n-Nabī Khān and Himmat Bahādur Khān, the *nāẓims* of Cuddapah and of Kurnool. The Wazīr directed his own elephant towards them, and contrary to practice raised his hands to his head and salamed them first. But they pretended to know him not and did not even turn their eyes to the side of the Nawwāb. The latter thought that they did not recognise him. So he stood up, raised his hand, and salamed them in a loud voice for the second time. This time the shame of their being silent in the presence of the Wazīr taught them the time-honoured rules of civilities. Then the Wazīr said: "It is incumbent on you and me, brothers of the same faith, to fight the stranger." In the course of this observation Himmat Bahādur Khān aimed at the Wazīr with the musket, and the bullet pierced his innocent heart[1]. Thus Himmat Bahādur Khān carried through his life on his shoulders the burden of everlasting contempt and perennial disgrace. The agitation among the retinue and family resembled that of judgment day. The destruction of the treasury, and the sacking of the tents seemed like the confusion "when the trumpets are blown on the day of judgment." Brother was separated from brother and mother from children.

(1) Dodwell and Orme say that the murder is generally ascribed to 'Abdu'n-Nabī Khān:—See Note 3, p. 52, *Dupleix and Clive*; also the article by C. S. Srinivasachari on '*The Diary of Ananda Ranga Pillai*' in *Journal of Indian History*, Vol. X, pp. 158-162.

In brief, his martyrdom brought in the judgment day. The lamentations reached the skies. The river of his innocent blood appeared to water the tree that grows dangers. Its fruits taste bitter to the people of the world even to this day. The sea of heart-rending pain had brought forth a deluge which, even to this day, forms an impediment for the foundation of the power of Hindustan. Ere long the perpetrators of this crime suffered their retribution, and the conspirators received their recompense.

Ḥaẓrat-i-A'lā comes forth safely from that dangerous place by the protection of the Real Protector; he starts alone towards Nattharnagar; the opposition on the way, of Mu'tabir Khān Ṭāhir the jāgīrdār of Ranjangadh[1]*; Ḥaẓrat-i-A'lā escapes from the treachery of Mu'tabir Khān owing to the bravery of Ghaẓanfar Alī Khān and arrives at the limits of Nattharnagar by the assistance of the Great Defender.*

After the martyrdom of Nawwāb Niẓāmu'd-Dawla Bahādur Nāṣir Jang which created the scene of the judgment day, the army became scattered. Muḥammad Maḥfūẓ Khān Bahādur Shahāmat Jang, Muḥammad Najībullāh Khān

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(1) Ranjangadh is Ranjangudi, eleven miles from Perambalur. Mu'tabir Khān Ṭāhir its *jāgīrdār* was not well disposed towards Muhammad 'Alī. The fort of the place consisted of two parts, namely, a citadel on a rock and a *pettah* at its foot with mud walls. The place is well known for its weaving in cotton and woollen carpets and also for embroidery. The fort was the scene of a well-known battle between the English and Muḥammad 'Alī on one side and Chanda Sahib and the French on the other, in 1751. The battle is usually known as the battle of Valkonda, after the village of Vālikandapuram in the neighbourhood. But the action was not immediately beneath the walls of Ranjangudi. It was also at Ranjangudi that the French reinforcements under D'Auteuil surrendered to the English in May, 1752. The fort is in good condition even to this day. (See *The Gazetteer of the Trichinopoly District* by F.R. Hemingway, pp 303-5; and Orme, Vol. I; and *Memoir of Captain Dalton*, p. 104.)

Bahādur and other amīrs and nobles marched towards Ḥaydarābād as they were helpless. In utmost secrecy our Ḥaẓrat-i-A'lā came out of that place with Ghaẓanfar 'Alī Khān and a guide creating in the minds of others the belief that he would return soon, took a different route, and was soon on his way to Nattharnagar. Owing to the heavy rains, everywhere was one sheet of water; river or highway, well or pond, could not be distinguished; his horse swam the distance, and he reached the taluk of Tirnāmal, (Tiruvannamalai) when a group of ten or twelve men from among his servants already stationed there joined their master. As soon as he arrived at Ranjangadh, Mu'tabir Khān Ṭāhir, son of Muḥammad Ḥusayn Khān Ṭāhir and *jāgīrdār* of that place came out of the fort with a large force under the pretext of receiving him. In spite of Ḥaẓrat-i-A'lā's excuses the *jāgīrdār*, under the pretence of hospitality, made pressing solicitations to come into the fort, and would not let him go. However much our master embellished his apologetic speech with excuses, yet the troublesome fellow turned a deaf ear. When our sagacious master saw that excuses were of no avail and the obstinate *jāgīrdār* was not allowing him to proceed, he got up from that place under the pretext of answering the calls of nature. He went aside and secretly informed Ghaẓanfar 'Alī Khān of the vain intentions, the obstinacy and excessively pressing solicitations of the *jāgīrdār*, and desired (from him) a plan of escape. The devoted Khān put the mind of Ḥaẓrat-i-A'lā to rest, and left him free to ease himself. Then the Khān returned, and sat by the side of the *jāgīrdār* who had spread the ornamental covering of the saddle obstructing the way, and awaiting to fulfil his design against Ḥaẓrat-i-A'lā. In the course of conversation the Khān led him out of his wits, suddenly sprang forward like an arrow, threw one hand round the waist of the *jāgīrdār*, while with the other, he drew out the dagger and pointed it at the stomach of the *jāgīrdār*. Then the

Khān rebuked the *jāgīrdār* for his obstruction, and threatened him thus: "If you give way to my master and enjoin strongly on your servants not to move from their respective places, you will escape my hand. Else, know for certain that by means of this dagger and the rapacious and well-tried arm, your blood will stain this place. Then I am prepared to meet any situation that may arise and I will not run away from it." The faithful Khān who was plump and fat and who possessed great strength and vigour, appeared to the on-lookers like a hawk clutching a sparrow in its claws, a lion holding a goat in its paw. In short, on account of this unexpected misfortune and deadly danger, the *jāgīrdār* lost all his understanding and use of sense, threw to the winds patience and firmness and broke out in prayer *al-amān!* He ordered his servants to keep to their places; he exclaimed in a helpless tone to Ḥaẓrat-i-A'lā: "There is no obstruction. By His grace let your feet be on the stirrup and may you hasten to your capital safely." But no sooner had Ḥaẓrat-i-A'lā seen the ruin of the wall of barrier, than he left the place. When he reached Wālkandahpūr[1] in Nattharnagar situated at a distance of one *kuroh* from Ranjangadh, he despatched a letter written in his own hand to Ghaẓanfar 'Alī Khān informing him of his safe arrival at the limits of Nattharnagar. On seeing the letter and the signature of Ḥaẓrat-i-A'lā, the Khān released his hand from the waist of the *jāgīrdār*, removed the pointed dagger from his stomach, and said to the *jāgīrdār*, "If you permit me who have done the duty of a servant, to go (unmolested), I guarantee that you won't meet with any kind of maltreatment from my master. But if you behave treacherously towards me, who am a devoted servant, you cannot be free from the punishment of his sword." The *jāgīrdār*

(1) Wālkandahpūr is Valikandapuram or Valkonda. It is popularly supposed to have been the place where Ramachandra king of Ayodhya met Vāli, the monkey-king, on his way to Lanka. It is eight miles to the north-east of Perambalur. It was till 1861 the headquarters of a taluk.

spoke in a conciliatory tone, and permitted him to go for the purpose of securing pardon for his own daring mischief. Thus Ghaẓanfar 'Alī Khān got out safely from that place and rejoined his master. Then they marched quickly to Nattharnagar. The distance from the army quarters at Chenjī to his capital was generally covered in seven days. But they did it in a day and a night.

Ḥaẓrat-i-A'lā's preparations for war to strike the enemy; his writing an 'arẓdāsht to Aḥmad Shāh Padshāh and a letter to Nawwāb Āṣafu'd-Dawla Sayyid Ghāziu'd-Dīn Khān Bahādur Fīrōz Jang[1] the senior brother of Nawwāb Nāṣir Jang and the eldest son of Nawwāb Āṣaf Jāh, relating the events that happened to Nawwāb Nāṣir Jang Shahīd.

After reaching Nattharnagar Ḥaẓrat-i-A'lā completed his arrangements relating to the army and the implements of war, sent for his junior brother 'Abdu'l Wahhāb Khān Bahādur Nuṣrat Jang at the *ṣūba* of Nellore and Muḥammad Abrār Khān in the district of Kanjī; despatched an *'arẓdāsht* to Aḥmad Shāh Pādshāh submitting the events that happened in the Car-

(1) Nawwāb Ghāziu'd-Dīn Khān Fīrōz Jang, the eldest son of the celebrated Niẓāmu'l-Mulk Āṣaf Jāh, was elevated by the Emperor Muḥammad Shāh to the rank of Amīru'l-Umarā in A. D. 1739. When the news of the murder of Nāṣir Jang in December 1750 reached Delhi in the middle of January, 1751, the Emperor nominated Ghāziu'd-Dīn Khān as the *ṣubadār* of the Deccan with the title of Niẓāmu'l-Mulk. He proceeded to the Deccan but died on his way at Awrangābād. Ghāziu'd-Dīn Khān was very reserved, and a god-fearing person. He spent his time in the company of theologians, kept night vigils and ordered his life after the manner of a puritan. These qualities he inherited from his mother who was a *sayyida*, the daughter of a pious *shaykh* of Gulbarga. He married Zaybu'n-Nisā, known as Sulṭān Bēgam, the daughter of the Wazīr Qamru'd-Dīn. After the death of Ghāziu'd-Dīn Khān the rank of Amīru'l-Umarā was conferred on his son Shahābu'd-Dīn with the title of 'Imādu'l-Mulk.

Sir J.N. Sarkar: *Fall of the Mughal Empire*, Vol. I, p. 446.

natic Pāyānghāt; sent a letter to Nawwāb Āṣafu'd-Dawla Ghāziu'd-Dīn Khān Bahādur Fīrōz Jang the elder son of Nawwāb Āṣaf Jāh, the senior brother of Nawwāb Niẓāmu'd-Dawla Nāsir Jang Bahādur Shahīd, then the Wazīr at the imperial court. In that letter Ḥaẓrat-i-A'lā expressed sympathy with the martyrdom of Nawwāb Nāṣir Jang, and advised Nawwāb Ghāziu'd-Dīn Khān to proceed towards the Deccan. Thus after settling his affairs, Ḥaẓrat-i-A'lā got ready for war; while Hidāyat Muhiyyu'd-Dīn Khān with the help of the Afghān *sardārs*, Raja Ramdas and other nobles who were not true to their salt, came out of his disgraceful internment and sat on the throne of the Deccan the next day after the martyrdom of Nawwāb Nāṣir Jang, namely, on Wednesday the 16th of the holy Muharram of the year 1164 A H. He brought under his control, the whole army, implements of warfare, cattle, treasury and other booty, stayed in that same place for three days, and on the fourth day, namely, on Sunday the 19th, reached Phulcheri with all his encampment. There he met Ḥusayn Dōst Khān and M. Dupleix and arranged a delightful *majlis* in all magnificence and grandeur. He bestowed on Ḥusayan Dōst Khān titles,[1] and *manṣabs* and entrusted to him the *niẓāmat* of *Pāyānghāt*; on M. Dupleix the title of Ẓafar Jang, and granted him the *jāgīr* of Chenjī, Tiruvati and other places;

(1) The news of Nāṣir Jang's assassination and of the elevation of Muzaffar Jang reached Pondicherry the same day and Chanda Ṣahib was so overjoyed that he ran through the streets to meet M. Dupleix and almost stifled him with his embraces. On December 26th Muzaffar Jang made his triumphal entry into Pondicherry; on the 31st, he held his first *darbar* and received the homages of M. Dupleix and the Mughal nobles Eighteen chests of jewels and a crore of rupees besides bullion are said to have been carried to Pondicherry. A few days later, Muzaffar Jang set out to his capital, having appointed M. Dupleix to be his deputy in the countries south of the Krishna and granted him territories which were expected to produce a net revenue of three and a half lacs of rupees.

M. Las (Law) M. Datīl (D'Auteuil) and other French *sardārs*, were given suitable titles, *manṣabs*, and presents and were made to feel happy and grateful. Himmat Bahādur Khān was given the title of Rustam Jang and was granted the *jāgīr* of Rāychūr, and Adhoni; 'Abdu'n-Nabī Khān got the *jāgīr* of Kanjikotta, (Gandikotta) Gooty, and Kūramgonda (Gurramkonda); 'Abdu'l-Karīm Khān secured the *jāgīr* of Sara; Janūjī the Mahratta was honoured with the title of Maharaj Arjun Jaswant; Raja Ramdas with the title of Raja Raghunath Das; Muḥammad Ḥasan[1] with the title of Aḥsanu'd-Dīn Khān; 'Abdu'l-Raḥman with the title of the Muẓaffar Khān. Thus he proved the meaning of the saying: "Every depraved fellow is a boaster."

Hidāyat Muḥiyyu'd-Dīn Khān learnt the preparations and the firmness of Ḥaẓrat-i-A'lā and thought that the war might become endless. Hence he wrote a friendly letter to Ḥaẓrat-i-A'lā according to the plan and counsel of M. Dupleix and Janūjī the Mahratta and despatched it along with the letters from M. Dupleix and Janūjī which contained promises and agreements. Our Ḥaẓrat-i-A'lā wrote a suitable reply to every letter. In reply to the letter of Hidāyat Muḥiyyu'd-Dīn Khān he wrote in the following manner: "Though it is necessary for the *nāẓim* of the Carnatic to obey the *raīs* of the Deccan, yet it is impossible

(1) Muḥammad Ḥasan known as Shaykh Ḥasan and his brother 'Abdu'l-Raḥmān were captains of sepoy troops who were first employed by the French in 1740 in Mahe. Early in 1742, Governor Dumas ordered three companies of them to serve on the Coromandal coast. Two companies were subsequently disbanded; but others were entertained in 1746 at the request of La Bourdonnais who had seen them in action at Mahe. M. Dupleix left the command of the sepoys entirely in Indian hands except when they were co-operating with European forces, whereas the English appointed European drill-sergeants and adjutants to command them. The brothers, Shaykh Ḥasan and 'Abdu'l-Raḥmān were employed by M. Dupleix during the siege of Madras. They rose to be the *jama'dārs* of the French sepoys in Chanda Sahib's service, and later on to high favour in the service of the Niẓām. (See H. Dodwell's note on p. 168; Vol. VII of the *Private Diary of Ananda Ranga Pillai*; *Journal of Indian History*, Vol. X, pp. 19-20.)

for me to obey you in view of the following facts Your subjugation of the *nizamat* of the Deccan was through force and wickedness while my sway over the dominion of the Carnatic is hereditary, by the sanction of the imperial order, recognition of your authority is not possible without the arrival of imperial orders In these circumstances your entrusting the *nizamat* of Arcot to Ḥusayn Dost Khan, and granting to the French many taluks as *jagirs*, excite wonder Certainly these will lead to many troubles and ugly things"

The reply to the letter of Dupleix contained Hazrat-i-Alā's detestation at Dupleix's infractions of treaty, the bad results of his undertakings, hints towards the punishment for the headstrong attitude of Dupleix, Ḥazrat-i-Ala's want of confidence in Dupleix's promises, and the faithlessness of his pledges ever after the treaty according to which Dupleix, during the time of war at Devnampattan, had undertaken not to play false He wrote also a suitable reply to Janūjī the Mahratta

The march of Hidayat Muhiyyud-Din Khān Bahādur towards the Deccan, his murder midway, also of those who murdered Nawwab Nāṣir Jang Nawwāb Ṣalabat Jang Bahadur, the third son of Nawwāb Āṣaf Jāh, ascends the throne of the Deccan

Hidayat Muhiyyud-Din Khan, arranged all important affairs, divided the spoils gave away presents, bestowed *manṣabs* and titles, granted *jāgirs* gave a splendid feast and started in great pomp from Phulcheri towards the Deccan taking in his company M Dupleix[1] the French *sardār* and his army, along with his own forces numbering about two lacs of horse Since the Afghāns marched for pleasure through ports, rivers and other beautiful places, it was necessarily a slow march till they crossed the river

(1) Hidayat Muhiyyud-Din Khān (Muzaffar Jang) was not accompanied by M Dupleix but by M Bussy with a contingent of 300 Europeans and 1,800 sepoys.

of Arcot. Hidāyat Muḥiyyu'd-Dīn Khān was not feeling quite safe because of the knavery of some of the amīrs of the army, and of the Afghāns, especially of Himmat Bahādur Khān, who was the vain aspirant for the throne of the Deccan. So Hidāyat Muḥiyyu'd-Dīn Khān was waiting for an opportunity to punish those headstrong people. Thus the two armies which possessed conflicting interests at heart, and had a disorderly march in scattered groups here and there with such preparations of the elements of mischief concentrated on both the sides, joined together at Dāmalcharū.[1] The Mughal sepoys stretched out

(1) The Pathan Nawwābs looked on with jealousy at the turn the affairs were taking. Pondicherry was now the pivot of the whole country; all things were in the hands of the French, who became rich by securing considerable accessions of territory. Consequently there was great discontentment which threatened to break out as soon as Muẓaffar Jang departed from the Carnatic. When he was encamping at Rayachoti, in the dominion of the Nawwāb of Cuddapah, 5 days' march from Arcot, the latter and the Nawwāb of Kurnool complained that Muẓaffar Jang had allowed the Mahrattas to plunder their country contrary to his promise; and they seized some French horse and stopped the French ammunition. The Afghān Nawwābs had agreed to Dupleix that half the money found in Nāṣir Jang's treasury should be divided amongst them, while their dominions should be increased by some districts, which were however much less than what they first demanded; and they also agreed that all the jewels should be reserved for Muẓaffar Jang. In the skirmish that ensued, the Nawwāb of Cuddapah attacked the rear guard of Muẓaffar Jang's troops which had escorted women; whereupon the Wazīr ordered his whole army to halt and prepared to march against the Cuddapah troops. M Bussy who had received specific instructions to avoid all provocations into hostilities; now intervened and persuaded Muẓaffar Jang to call upon the Nawwāb to explain the reason for his conduct. Though the Nawwāb defied Muẓaffar Jang's message, yet he sent word to M. Bussy that he was ready to submit to the Wazīr through French mediation. This behaviour stung Muẓaffar Jang to the quick and drove him to instant action. The troops of all the three Pathan Nawwābs had already been drawn in battle array and Muẓaffar Jang marched to attack the rebels without French assistance being impatient of the slow pace of their battalion. At first Muẓaffar Jang's troops were repulsed; but the fire of the French artillery changed the fortunes of the day and forced the Nawwābs to retreat.

their hands to plunder the properties of the Afghāns and did not refrain from it in spite of Hidāyat Muḥiyyu'd-Dīn Khān's orders to the contrary. The Afghāns, on account of their misunderstanding, thought that such perfidy was at the instigation of the commander of the army, and thus the wine of enmity became double distilled by the effervescence of mischief. On account of the intoxication they were deliberating to throw themselves into the well of punishment which they had dug time after time in their lives for the retribution of their own wicked deeds. In the course of the march one day the Afghāns looted on the way a fully loaded cart drawn by two camels that belonged to Muẓaffar Khān the *'ilāqadār* of the French forces. When the owner of the property made enquiries, they pretended ignorance and denied knowledge of it. Since then, the time had come to draw the swords of punishment from their sheaths. However much 'Abdu'n-Nabī Khān tried to extinguish the fire by the water of compensation, yet Muẓaffar Khān did not agree and drew out the sword for battle. The Afghān troops also loudly clamoured for war. The forces of Hidāyat Muḥiyyu'd-Dīn Khān and the French were drawn up in array. Muẓaffar Khān,

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Muẓaffar Jang, heedless of the advice of M. Bussy, pursued the fugitives, and again left behind him the French battalion which however endeavoured to keep in sight of him. The Nawwāb of Savanur died on the field; while the Nawwāb of Cuddapah was severely wounded and fled precipitately. In his pursuit of the latter, Muẓaffar Jang came up with the Nawwāb of Kurnool and proceeded to attack him personally, when, having uplifted his sword to strike, he was pierced in the head by the javelin of his opponent. Both the Wazir and his troops were overpowered and cut to pieces. The death of Muẓaffar Jang left the French in great consternation, because they had now no pretensions to interfere in the affairs. But M. Bussy did not lose his presence of mind, assembled the generals and ministers, and persuaded them to raise to the throne, Ṣalābat Jang, the third brother of Nāṣir Jang who had been kept in close confinement. The French arms had again been decisive. (*Despatch from Thomas Saunders, etc., to the Company. Fort St. David, February 24, 1751.*)

then, had his valour spurred. By the dexterity of trustworthy men, 'Abdu'l-Karīm Khān perished, getting retribution for his crime. Mīr Sayfu'llāh who was experienced in conveying treacherous messages received his recompense at the hands of the brave army of the Nawwāb Shahīd in the course of negotiations to settle the dispute amicably. Himmat Bahādur Khān who already bore the iniquity of killing Nawwāb Nāṣir Jang, once again took upon his shoulders the burden of the blood of Hidāyat Muḥiyyu'd-Dīn Khān. But vengeance fell on him for the blood of these two royal personages, by the well-directed contrivance of Nawwāb Niẓām 'Alī Khān, the fourth son of Nawwāb Āṣaf Jāh. His head was held up to public view on a spear and was thus disgraced and dishonoured. His stomach was torn out and filled with dirt and rubbish. This event happened within a period of sixty-one days after the murder of Nawwāb Nāṣir Jang as a warning to people of intelligence and sagacity. The most surprising thing was that the murder of the murderer (Himmat Bahādur Khān) coincided with the very date, namely, the 17th of the month of Rabi'u'l-awwal of the year 1164, when the body of the Nawwāb Nāṣir Jang was interred in Awrangābād; that is to say that innocent martyr had not rested his body, until he had avenged his own blood[1].

In brief, Raja Ramdas and other *sardārs* of the army seated on the throne of the Deccan Nawwāb Ṣalābat Jang Bahādur, the third son of Nawwāb Āṣaf Jāh. Then they marched forward, laid their hands on Cuddapah and plundered it. But 'Abdu'l-Majīd Khān[1] who was the senior brother of 'Abdu'n-Nabī Khān and the *jāgīrdār* of that place paid three lacs of rupees to the commander of the forces and sought

(1) See *the Manual of the Cuddapah District* by Gripple, p. 91.

peace. Then they attacked Kurnool¹, ruined its prosperity and splendour, took captive the wife and children of Himmat Bahādur Khān, and reached Ḥaydarābād. The importance of the French increased day by day, and the fire of their authority blazed throughout the Deccan.

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(1) Himāyat Khān (Himmat Bahadur Khān, the real assassin of Nāṣir Jang) succeeded his father Alif Khān in 1733 A D as the *nāẓim* of Kurnool.

When Nāṣir Jang called upon the *nāẓim* to furnish troops for the Carnatic expedition, he refused and the Wazir sent Himmat Khān with the order to vacate the fort of Kurnool. Himāyat Khān opposed him and drove back his forces. Then Nāṣir Jang managed to conciliate the *nāẓim* by sending a messenger Sayfud-Din and Himāyat Khān joined the Wazir in his expedition to the South. But the friendship between the two was not well established. Sayfu'd-Din, who brought about the reconciliation between the Wazir and the *nāẓim* was aware of this, and began to create misunderstanding between them, because Nāṣir Jang did not comply with his request for the grant of the *jāgir* of Banganapalli. There were also other causes which fanned the flame of enmity.

After the assassination of Nāṣir Jang, Muzaffar Jang (Hidayat Muhiyyud Din Khān) became the Wazir of the Deccan. In the course of his march to Haydarabad, the *melee* occurred in the narrow pass of Lakkireddipalli in the Rayachoti taluk. In the skirmish Abdul Karim Khan, the Nawwab of Savanur was cut to pieces, the Nawwab of Cuddapah was wounded and he fled desperately from the field. When Muzaffar Jang pursued him he encountered Himāyat Khan, the *nāẓim* of Kurnool, and in the course of the fight Muzaffar Jang was killed.

Muzaffar Jang was succeeded by Ṣalabat Jang as the Wazir of the Deccan. During his reign Himayat Khān was killed by the order of Nizām Ali and his head was fixed to a spear. The Wazir's army marched to Kurnool and subjugated the fort in 1751. There were 4,000 Pathans in the fort but they were driven into the citadel by the fire of the French troops under Kerjean, a nephew of M. Dupleix.

The wife of Himāyat Khān and her two sons were taken as prisoners. The former was left in Kurnool under the protection of the *diwan* and the latter were taken to Haydarābād.

VICTORIES OF ḤUSAYN DŌST KHĀN

Ḥusayn Dōst Khān's march against Nattharnagar (Trichinopoly) to oppose Ḥaẓrat-i-A'lā, and other events connected with it.

Ḥusayn Dōst Khān who had got from Hidāyat Muḥiyyu'd-Dīn Khān brief authority over the *niẓāmat* of the Carnatic thought he had no rival, and held high his haughty head. He marched from Phulcheri with his army and that of the French and reached Arcot. He made himself master of the territory through the friendship and encouragement of his own people and family and through the help of the zamindars and others. In the meanwhile he learnt about the illness of Ḥaẓrat-i-A'lā and thought it a wonderful occasion for him to take possession of the Carnatic. So he dispatched 'Ālam Khān, *alias* 'Ālam 'Alī Khān,[1] with a well-equipped army to take possession of the remote areas in Nattharnagar and other places. Accordingly 'Ālam 'Alī Khān marched in great haste with a single purpose. He subjugated Tinnevelly, Madura and other places and made the *palayagars* in those environs as far as Tondaman, and the zamindar of Tanjore submit to him. Ḥusayn Dōst Khān marched from Arcot in the month of Jamādiu'l-awwal of the year 1164 with a force of 60,000 including horse and infantry, along with Yaḥyā Khān and Zakariyya Khān, the *sardārs* of his own army. In addition to these forces, there were two thousand *frangs*, ten thousand Negroes, ten thousand beasts of burden, and one hundred

(1) 'Ālam Khān *alias* 'Ālam 'Alī Khān, was, according to Orme, a soldier of fortune who had formerly been in the service of Chanda Sahib and of the King of Tanjore. He came to Madura, took the fort from one 'Abdu'l-Aḥmad Khān, and observing the course of events, proclaimed his adherence to the cause of Chanda Sahib. He was in power at Madura in the beginning of 1751. 'Ālam Khān defended Madura against Captain Cope and 'Abdu'l-Wahhāb the brother of Nawwāb Wālājāh. In 1752, he joined Chanda Sahib before Trichinopoly and was killed in the course of the operations. (J. Nelson, *The Madura Country, A Manual*; Part III, page 269; and Orme, Vol. I, pages 169, *et seq.*)

French cannon under the command of M. Las (Law). All these marched together through Chetpet, Timiri, Pūlūr and halted at Tirnāmal (Tiruvannamalai) from which place Ḥusayn Dōst Khān wrote a letter to Ḥaẓrat-i-A'lā.

The letter of Ḥusayn Dōst Khān to Ḥaẓrat-i-A'lā

"By the benedictions of the grace of the skilful Master, by the assistance of the strength of the Lord, the absolute authority over the kingdom of the Carnatic is entrusted to me by the mandate of the previous sovereign. The rightful image of mine having appeared, I have no partner in that authority; other semblances which claimed authority disappeared behind the curtain of falsehood. All that had happened to the ruler of the Deccan by means of my bloody sword is well known in these days. All that resulted to Nawwāb Sirāju'd-Dawla Bahādur from my bold attack is a warning to all prudent men. It is improper that your authority which is confined to a single fort at Nattharnagar and exercised over a limited number of people under your dependency, should claim equality with my absolute authority over the government, and the unrestricted power of my command. If you seek safety, better surrender the fort, so that no kind of molestation will happen to you, and the thorn of anxiety will not prick the inclinations of your clear mind. Else you will see what storm the inundation of my sword will excite; what things the lightning of my attack will pour on the threshing-floor of Natthamagar. More after I receive your reply."

This letter of Ḥusayn Dōst Khān reached Ḥaẓrat-i-A'lā at a time when great confusion was preying on the strength of the dominion, because of the climax of Ḥaẓrat-i-A'lā's illness to the despair of the skilful physicians. Undoubtedly weakness was pervading the healthy limbs of the kingdom owing to the conquests of 'Alam 'Ali Khān, the loss of the strength for want of the medicines of allied forces and the

breaking up of the health of Ḥaẓrat-i-A'lā's own army. That is, all the *palayagars* broke their allegiance to Ḥaẓrat-i-A'lā on account of the supremacy of the enemy, to whose fold two-thirds of Ḥaẓrat-i-A'lā's own army deserted. To crown all, there was the illness of Ḥaẓrat-i-A'lā and the consequent decline in his strength by degrees. Therefore, men intelligent in practical wisdom like 'Abdu'l-Wahhāb Khān Bahādur, Sayyid 'Alī Khān, Khayru'd-Dīn Khān, Ḥusayn Muḥammad Khān, Ghaẓanfar 'Alī Khān, Muḥammad Abrār Khān, Sayyid Nāṣir 'Alī Khān, Sayyid Makhdūm 'Alī Khān, and others, observing the delicacy of the circumstances of the faithless time, the sickness and the consequent weakness of their master either to speak or to listen, the arrival of the treacherous enemy in endless pomp and grandeur, the absolute authority of the French from Phulcheri as far as the shores of the Narbada, and the despair of getting help from any quarter, thought that the mixture of peace was the best prescription for curing the disease in the constitution of the kingdom. So they wrote a reply to the letter of Ḥusayn Dōst Khān accepting his proposals, asking for quarter, and intimating the absence of any obstruction either on the part of Ḥaẓrat-i-A'lā or his servants. They sent this letter sealed with the seal of Ḥaẓrat-i-A'lā. When Ḥusayn Dōst Khān fully informed himself of the contents of that letter, he wrote a reply in the form of a treaty bearing the contents that they could go wherever they chose without any fear of opposition. He sent this reply sealed with his own seal. This letter reached the Khāns when they were in despair of the life of Ḥaẓrat-i-A'lā; seated around his cot weeping and making lamentations, they looked like mourners. They were holding up a mirror to his nose to find out if there was breath. Since Ḥaẓrat-i-A'lā had neither food nor drink for the last few days, *ḥakīm* Sikandar, one of the attendant physicians, let fall into the royal mouth by means of a piece of cotton some drops of barley gruel mixed

with newly prepared juice The Nawwāb opened his eyes after a minute Once again the physician administered a little more of the same gruel and juice In short, the Nawwāb recovered his consciousness since then The crisis had bred despair in the minds of those present who were tense with sorrow, and hope now overcame this despair just as health overpowers disease In great enthusiasm they offered their congratulations and thanks to the Eternal Lord and proclaimed thus "From death He brings to life" When the physician trickled some more drops into his mouth, the Nawwab opened his kind mouth and said, "Turn me to a side," which command they obeyed Then after a minute *Hazrat-i-A'lī asked, "What about Husayn* Dōst Khān? Where is he?" They replied, "The result of our plan agreed upon by us depends on your health There should be no anxiety and let there be peace of mind" When the Nawwāb put once again the same question, the well-wishers felt happy (at his recovery) and submitted as follows

"Husayn Dōst Khān had reached Tirnāmal (Tiruvannamalai) with a large army and equipage in great pomp when he despatched from that place a letter addressed to your exalted name Since your state of health was not then such as either to listen to its contents or reply to it, we conferred with one another and made bold to write a reply proper in the circumstances We could not hit upon any other prudent measure However, our letter reached him, and produced some effect on his mind His letter conveying the terms of the treaty according to the desire of the friends of your highness, has just now been delivered to us by two messengers riding on camels As soon as you recover by the grace of Allāh, we shall be travelling in your company either towards the Deccan or towards Shājahānābād The thorn of opposition cannot stick to the skirt of our resolution" The Nawwāb listened to their statements, asked for some more gruel and drank some spoonfuls. On the whole his health improved a little and from that moment

the temporary treaty of friendship (proposed to Ḥusayn Dōst Khān by the nobles of Ḥaẓrat-i-A'lā) was broken by the strength of the Nawwāb's courage, and the assistance of the courtiers sitting round about him. He collected his senses with the support of the nicety of his honour, sat erect with the help of pillows, and asked for the letter of agreement written by Ḥusayn Dōst Khān and the reply dispatched by the Khāns. They were shown to the Nawwāb who had them read out. He enquired about the condition of the territory of Nattharnagar and of his own army; he learnt about the subjugation by 'Ālam Alī Khān of the entire country except the fort of Nattharnagar, of the desertion of all the *palayagars*, and of the desertion by the two-thirds of his own army. He grew thoughtful for a time, and then ordered the following letter to be drafted in reply to Ḥusayn Dōst Khān's first letter which had reached the Nawwāb at the critical time of his illness.

The reply of Ḥaẓrat-i-A'lā

"Thanks to the protection of the Great and Bountiful Lord Who by granting to mankind sound judgment made it favoured and dignified among all living beings, and Who, according to His perfect wisdom, put on the head of man the viceregal crown for the purpose of administering the important affairs of this world. By His eternal grace I have absolute authority over the hereditary dominion without any interference or opposition from anybody. That is to say: by the support of the everlasting *sanad* of the Pādshāh of Hind and the Wazīr of the Deccan I have a hereditary right to the administration of this kingdom and I count this dominion and seal as mine. Your false claim is due merely to force and deceit. What a suggestion? Where is the dread for the heap of gunpowder of the French which is the resting place for those who forget the protection of the Lord and deserves to be destroyed by means of an ember of the divine anger? Why did you entrust the fort

of Nattharnagar to Raghoji before? Now I have brought it under my possession with the strength of my good fortune. By what advice and counsel of a prudent enemy, you desire so? Don't you know that the notched parapets of the fort wall form the array of the soldiers standing in diligence? The sides of the walls are *maydāns* to test the sword-play. To attack brave men is to place the neck on the edge of the sword; to oppose the straightforward is to point the arrow to the heart.

The desire for an impossible affair is far from safety; place your feet cautiously, for many wells are there in this way; do not be greedy for honey, for the danger of the sting is great; to run on this deadly *maydān* is to lose honour; to rely on the French is like seeking the assistance of a gourd in a shoreless sea If you desire safety, retrace your steps; refrain from all your claims over this kingdom granted to me by the Almighty. Else the battlefield is very wide for the display of bravery; my brave hand will become cruel in destroying the enemy. What more can be written?"

The letter written in this manner was adorned with his seal and entrusted to the camel-riders in the presence of the Nawwāb who presented each of them with one hundred rupees and a woollen shawl, and thus made them feel proud and thankful. Then he conveyed to them the news orally thus: "The previous reply to your letter was written by the administrators of my kingdom, without my knowledge when I was seriously ill. At present by the grace of that Matchless Physician, I have recovered from my illness. I am getting ready for the fight and expect your arrival." With these words he gave back the Khān's letter bearing the terms of the treaty, and sent them away The ministers and the nobles of the court submitted the real situation, namely, the want of war equipments, the loss of his own authority outside the fort, the might of the enemy because of the powerful army, the subjugation by the enemy of the territories from the Narbada as far as Mallwār

(Malabar); but however much they suggested to the Nawwāb to seek peace and avoid war advancing forth clear arguments and evident proofs, the Nawwāb replied, "Your observations based on the present circumstances, and your procedures born of caution and care are no doubt honourable to avoid war and dispute. But the King of kings, the Glorious and the Most High Lord had granted me this kingdom as a hereditary right; the Pādshāh of Hind was pleased to select me for the administration of the important affairs of this kingdom. I feel ashamed; and the sense of shame at the idea of entrusting this kingdom knowingly and before my very sight to another man, catches hold of the skirt. I wish that as far as possible I maintain my position in this territory. If I don't succeed in this affair, I shall quit the world on this account and win the ball of fame". After delivering this speech, he quoted some verses from the *Tīmūr Nāma*[1]:

"O intelligent ones possessing pure hearts, it is not easy to throw away honour to the winds. Now if I flee from

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(1) *Tīmūr-nāma* is a historical poem written by Mawlānā 'Abdu'llāh Hātifī of Kharjird in Khurāsān, a nephew of the great Jāmī, who, according to the well-known story, tested his poetical talent before allowing him to write by bidding him compose a "parallel" to the verses in Firdawsī's celebrated satire on Sulṭān Maḥmūd of Ghazna:

"A tree whereof the nature is bitter, even if thou plantest it in the Garden of Paradise,
And if, at the time of watering, thou pourest on its roots nectar and fine honey from the River of Paradise,
It will in the end give effect to its nature, and bring forth that same bitter fruit."

Hātifī produced the following "parallel" which his uncle Jāmī approved, except that he jocularly observed that the neophyte had "laid a great many eggs on the way."

"If thou should'st place an egg of the crow compounded of darkness under the Peacock of the Garden of Paradise,
And if at the time of nourishing that egg thou should'st give it grain from the Fig-tree of the Celestial Gardens,

fear, when shall I be able to attain eminence? If I sue for the privilege of mercy, my name will be deleted from the list of famous men. If I beg quarter from his arrow, of what avail is my quiver?"

Next day getting into his palanquin he went round the fort, inspected the provisions, lead, gunpowder, instruments, tools and other necessary things, and issued orders to get them ready. Then returning to the *dīwān-khāna*, he invited to his presence all the *risāladārs* of the army and gave the following general order: "Whosoever desires to leave the service may do so without any fear or molestation; whoever wishes to stay he must make a confession taking an oath on the word of Allāh, that as long as this work is not finished, he shall not disobey me." Accordingly those who wished to go went away, and those who desired to stay took such an oath. After taking these steps, he sent 'Abdu'l-Hādī Khān to the governor of Dewnampattan, then known as the captain of Dewnampattan, with a letter confirming his ancient rights and seeking help to repel the evil-hearted enemy. He also conveyed the following oral message: "There is no reason for the enmity of the French towards me. But in the past since I had helped the East India Company as they deserved it, saved Dewnampattan from being subjugated by the French, freed Chennappattan from their hands and restored it to the English, the French had chosen to form an alliance with my enemies. Again for the same reasons my father drank the cup of martyrdom. At the instigation of the

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And should'st water it from the Fountain of Salsabīl, and Gabriel should breathe his breath into that egg.

In the end the crow's egg will become a crow, and vain will be the trouble of the Peacock of Paradise."

Tīmūr-nāma comprises about 4,500 verses and forms a counterpart to *Sikandar-nāma*, and Hātifī boasts that his poem was based on historical truth instead of on fables and legends.

E. G. Browne, *A Literary History of Persia, Vol. IV– Modern Times.*

disloyal men, when Nawwāb Nāṣir Jang Shahīd sent back to Dewnampattan the English army which was then with me during the siege of Tiruvati, and appointed Ábdu'n-Nabī Khān and Himmat Bahādur Khān, the *nāẓims* of Cuddapah and Kurnool, to devastate the towns of the English, and expel all the *frang* merchants from the land of the Carnatic, I went from Tiruvati to Arcot, with a view to help the English Company bearing in my mind the advice of my late father, and feeling the necessity for the continuance of their settlement in this land unmolested. I gave a large sum to Raja Ramdas the *bakhshī* of the army, submitted suitable arguments before Nawwāb Nāṣir Jang and restrained the army appointed for the destruction of these towns. The Company did not have the opportunity to help my father during his lifetime on account of the deficiency in the number of men in the army and other necessary equipments. But at present I am confronted with the same difficulty, and it behoves the trustworthy that they help me at this hour. They may be informed that I undertake to meet the expenses of the army and other necessary expenditure." The captain of Dewnampattan agreed to this request. Consequently a small company of English soldiers reached Nattharnagar[1] and encamped outside the fort towards the

(1) When Chanda Sahib marched from Pondicherry, he took Chettupattu and Arni and received the submission of Murtaẓā Álī of Vellore. He then moved to Arcot and then towards Trichinopoly. On Chanda Sahib's leaving Pondicherry, 400 men under Captain Gingen marched out of Fort St. David and camped at Tiruvendipuram and then at Tiruvati. Muḥammad Álī was urged to join the English in the field. He agreed to pay all the field charges of the troops. The English then took Vriddhachalam and garrisoned it with 30 men and then joined Muḥammad Álī's troops at Valikandapuram. The *qil'adār* of that place refused to admit the troops into his fort and consequently the *pettah* was burnt and the *qil'adār* was asked to surrender the fort. Meanwhile, with French help, the *qil'adār* defeated the troops of the English and the Nawwāb and this blow compelled Gingen to

southern gate On learning the strength of the relieving force which numbered in all forty soldiers under one *sardār*, the nobles of the court compared it to a straw obstructing a deluge, and a fly standing against a hurricane; some laughed at it and some frowned at it The all-knowing Nawwāb, the king possessing wisdom and power, observed, "Are you not aware that the entire honour of the English rests with this row of soldiers, and in the image of these persons is hidden an inestimable treasure?"

Ḥusayn Dōst Khān read the reply of Ḥaẓrat-i-A'lā sent through the camel-riders and coiled himself like a snake. He enquired of the messengers, who conveyed that reply, all the facts relating to the health of Ḥaẓrat-i-A'lā. He also learnt in detail his firmness and listened to the oral message. He struggled in the fire of envy and started from Tirnāmal towards Nattharnagar.

retire to Uttatur, 20 miles near Trichinopoly. The enemy followed and encamped at a distance of five miles After a few days, the English advance guard under Captain Dalton was attacked, but he drove back the enemy with considerable loss Then the English army departed from Uttatur that night abandoning part of its baggage and crossed the Coleroon by boat and then the Kaveri Gingen withdrew from his camp for fear of the enemy cutting off communications from Trichinopoly (*Separate Despatch from Thomas Saunders, etc., to the Company Fort St David, August 15, 1751, in the Madras Despatches.*)

FARMAN AND LETTER TO ḤAẒRAT-I-A'LĀ

The arrival of the farmān from Aḥmad Shāh Pādshāh and of the letter from Nawwāb Āṣafu'd-Dawla Ghāziu'd-Dīn Khān Bahādur Fīrōz Jang in reply to Ḥaẓrat-i-A'lā's; the farmān contained the news of the grant of the title of Mulk, of the increase of manṣabs, the confirmation of his authority over the kingdom of the Carnatic, with the additional appointment as the nāyib to the Wazīr of the Deccan; along with that farmān came also the ḥukumnāma of the imperial Sulṭān addressed to the zil'adārs, and qil'adārs of the Pāyānghāt and Bālāghāt, commanding them to support and obey Ḥaẓrat-i-A'lā.

Ḥaẓrat-i-A'lā had already dispatched, as narrated before, an *'arẓdāsht* to the imperial Pādshāh and a letter to the Nawwāb Wazīr Āṣafu'd-Dawla Ghāziu'd-Dīn Khān Bahādur Fīrōz Jang. These reached Shājahānābād and the facts relating to the Carnatic Pāyānghāt and the disaster that befell Nawwāb Nāṣir Jang became apparent. Then the Imperial Court entrusted to the care of Nawwāb Āṣafu'd-Dawla all the *ṣūbas* of the Deccan and delivered to him a *farmān* and the usual written orders. The *farmān* was addressed to Ḥaẓrat-i-A'lā conveying the increase of the *manṣabs*, and titles, the confirmation of his authority over the dominion of the Carnatic Pāyānghāt, and his new appointment as the *nāyib* to the Wazīr of the Deccan. The details of these facts will appear in their proper places. The written orders were in the names of all the zamindars, *qil'adārs*, and *zil'adārs* of the Pāyānghāṭ and the Bālāghāt, commanding them to support and obey Ḥaẓrat-i-A'lā. The new Wazīr of the Deccan, namely, Nawwāb Āṣafu'd-Dawla Bahādur to whom the *farmān* and orders were consigned, dispatched them along with his own letter from Shājahānābād, through two messengers mounted on camels. Since the way through

Arcot was blockaded, the messengers reached Nattharnagar through Mysore

Hazrat-i-A'la ordered the decoration of the *darbar*, issued orders for the adornment of the city and the *bazar*, and with the utmost respect and veneration put in order the necessaries for magnificence and grandeur, and received the imperial *farman* as the wealth for the expectant hand, and found it a source for the permanence of his power and authority Then he gave order for a *darbar-i-'ām*, where he strung the pearls of the clear and polished contents of the *farman* on the thread of the hearing of every one He caused music to be played in joy of the realisation of his hope The *hukumnama* was dispatched to all the districts of Paiyānghāt and Balāghat On learning the contents all of them paid their allegiance again to Hazrat-i-A'lā and were ready with their forces to help him as directed

The farman of Ahmad Shah Padshāhi[1]

Your *'arzdasht* reached us The news of the death of Nizamud-Dawla Mīr Ahmad Khan Bahadur Nasir Jang gave us deep sorrow The wickedness of the rebels, the pretensions of the *frang* merchants, and the arrogance of the French have provoked indignation in our mind

We have commanded Āsafu'd-Dawla Ghazīud Dīn Khān Bahādur to take charge of the affairs of the Deccan, admonish or chastise the mischievous, and put down the rebels He would come to those parts and render necessary assistance to you

Orders are issued to all the *ziladars* and those who hold administrative positions in Hindustan that they should expel the *frangs* from their territories, especially the French who are the source of all mischief, in the manner that thorn and grass are plucked off in a garden You should also endeavour to carry out

(1) Summary is given as usual of the *farman* and the letter

this order and expel the French from the Carnatic. We have also sent forth orders to all the zamindars, and *ṭarafdārs,* high and low, that they should gird up their loins to obey and help you.

It is praiseworthy that out of consideration for our favour, you have stood firm in the midst of the rebellious and the impudent, and preserved the fort and the kingdom. In return for these services we bestow on you, the *manṣab* of seven thousand *dhāt* and seven thousand horse (with the right to drive) a pair-horse or three horses, *khil'at-i-haft pārcha* ornamented with jewels from the wardrobe of the Pādshāh, *jīgha, sarpech* with pearls linked together, and the title of 'Umdatu'l Mulk. In addition to the hereditary right, already conferred on you to rule the Carnatic Pāyānghāt, we now elevate you to the post of the *nā'ib* to the *niẓāmat* of the Deccan.

It behoves that you feel thankful for these immense gifts and govern the Carnatic as it should be governed and be careful till the arrival of the Nāẓim of the Deccan. The French should not be allowed to remain in the Deccan. You should know that we always bestow kindness on you.

The letter of Āṣafu'd Dawla Ghāziu'd-Dīn Khān Bahādur Fīrōz Jang

Your kind letter conveying the news of the martyrdom of my brother Nawwāb Niẓāmu'd-Dawla Bahādur Nāṣir Jang, the rebellion of the French with the help of some disloyal men, the ruinous condition of the Carnatic, the stability of your power in the fort of Nattharnagar in spite of agitation and confusion caused by the enemies, reached me along with the *arẓdāsht* to the Pādshāh. The information has afflicted me.

Nothing has permanence in this world; destruction is necessary for everything. Hence there is no alternative but to bear patiently all sorrows.

In accordance with the imperial order, the *nizāmat* of the Deccan is entrusted to me and the post of *nā'ib* to you. The details about this and other gifts are set forth in the *farmān*. It is certain that you would, in conformity with the order of the *Pādshāh*, attend to your duties, and give thanks to the Almighty. You should also endeavour to wipe out the French from the country, and attend to the affairs of the Deccan till my arrival.

God willing, the management of the affairs of the Carnatic and the Deccan will become agreeable to our friends by means of our joint efforts.

The march of the army of Ḥaẓrat-i-A'lā under the leadership of his famous brother, Abdu'l-Wahhāb Khān Bahādur, to blockade the way of Ḥusayn Dōst Khān; the fight between the two forces at the foot of the Ranjangadh hill; the flight of the enemy towards the fort of Ranjangadh and the perfidy of the fort-keeper.

After the arrival of the imperial *farmān*, and the receipt of the letter from Āṣafu'd-Dawla, the new Wazīr of the Deccan, and the return to submission of all the *zilʿdārs* of the kingdom, Ḥaẓrat-i-A'lā learnt the approach of Ḥusayn Dōst Khān. Immediately without waiting for any help from the *zilʿdārs*, Ḥaẓrat-i-A'lā, for the purpose of exhibiting his innate bravery, and displaying his inborn intrepidity, based on his own courage and sagacity and on the good will of his faithful nobles, sent an army under the leadership of 'Abdu'l-Wahhāb Khān Bahādur Shukōhu'l-Mulk and of Janjī to blockade the way of the approaching enemy. The army comprised 1,200 horse, 2,000 match-lock men, both belonging to the Nawwāb, 4,000 infantry from Tondaman, a dependency of Nattharnagar, thus making up in all a number of about six or seven thousand men inclusive of horse and infantry. Besides the force of the English that had already come to Nattharnagar under the leadership of

Janjīı five hundred more *frangs* (English) had arrived for the second time. All these forces reached Ranjangadh[2] and

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(1) Janjī is Captain Gingen. He captured Vriddhachalam, burnt the *pettah* of Valikandapuram, endeavoured in vain to rally his troops at that place, and finally retreated to Uttatur near which he was well nigh cut off by the enemy.

For details, see *Orme, Vol. I, pp. 171-180.*

(2) After the capture of Vriddhachalam the English continued their march and were joined by about 100 Europeans detached by Captain Cope from Trichinopoly and about 4,000 troops of Muḥammad ʿAlī, both cavalry and foot, commanded by ʿAbduʾl Wahhāb Khān, a younger brother of the Nawwāb. The exact place where the meeting of the troops took place is not clear; according to Captain Dalton it was at Valikandapuram. Gingen was encamped in a grove about a mile and a half from the latter place, while Chanda Sahib's forces were posted about 4 miles to the north. The rockfort of Ranjangudi adjoining Valikandapuram village was in the possession of a Muslim *jāgīrdār*, who, though a relative of Muḥammad ʿAlī, was afraid to throw in his lot definitely on the side of his kinsman and refused to open his gates to the English. Gingen first captured and burnt the village or *pettah* of Valikandapuram, but he could not take the rockfort; while the *jāgīrdār* permitted the French troops to go over to him. An action took place on the dry bed of the river by the side of the fort, in which the English troops fled for no apparent reason, though the officers, including Clive who was then a lieutenant, did all they could to stop the dishonourable flight. This so-called battle of Volkondah (it was in reality the battle of Ranjangudi, June, 30) was considered a disgraceful affair by both Wilks and Malcolm. Orme says that ʿAbduʾl Wahhāb Khān's troops stood their ground, and it was only the English battalion that got so demoralised and broke up in panic. The troops of Muḥammad ʿAlī behaved in this action better than ever they did afterwards, and even in the field of battle reproached the English for their want of spirit, according to Clive, in the memorandum he gave to Orme in 1763. According to another version, the English were regarded as having lost all their courage in this engagement. The Diarist wrote that one of the letters declared that the English had a loss of 90 Europeans killed, including 2 officers besides the wounded, while in the detachment of Cope 110 persons had been either killed at Madura or died of sickness; but according to the English version they lost only one ensign and five or six men. *Journal of Indian History*, Vol. X, Pages 173-4, 1931. For plan, see Charles Dalton's *Memoir of Captain Dalton.*

encamped opposite to its fort as requested by the *qilʻadār* Muʻtabir Khān Ṭāhir, who agreed to render assistance at the time of the fight with the enemy. Since the allies were aware of his treachery and that of his father on previous occasions they were very vigilant and cautious. The enemy also arrived and encamped at a distance of two *kurōh* from the fort. After 9 o'clock in the night, the *qilʻadār*, in keeping with his hereditary faithlessness, began to cannonade the forces of the *sarkār*. But the latter were vigilant, immediately understood the treachery, and attacked the fort. The English soldiers cannonaded to such an extent, that the enemy was punished, and if only the opportunity had helped them they would have advanced forward with success and subjugated the fort. But suddenly the day dawned and the army of Ḥusayn Dōst Khān appeared. The brave soldiers of the *sarkār*, in spite of their fatigue due to wakefulness throughout the night, fought against the fresh enemy with brilliant courage. They kept the field brisk with fighting till 9 o'clock in the morning, defeated the French, and pushed back Ḥusayn Dōst Khān towards the fort. In that general commotion and in the uproar of holding the running enemy, the French fled from the *maydān*, and according to their deceitful ways, secretly hid themselves in the declivities of the ditch and began to fire. Besides the noise of the French firing, there was the roaring of the cannon from the fort. One of the cannon-balls from the tower of the fort fell on the neck of the horse of the commander, *i.e.* Shukōhu'l-Mulk Bahādur, and it was killed. But the courageous and strong Bahādur got upon another horse, and did not slacken rein, till the flying enemy took refuge into the fort, when he thought it an useless endeavour to assault the fort wall. So, in his attempt to drag

The Memoranda by Clive on the battle tell us that the native troops behaved extremely well and actually reproached the Europeans for their want of spirit. (See Orme Collection in the India Office by S. C. Hill—Orme Mss. India, II-6).

the enemy on the *maydān*, he marched with his own army towards Untātūr and stayed there for some days. In the meanwhile Ḥāmid ʿAlī Khān, one of the intimate friends of Ḥaẓrat-i-Aʿlā, marched hastily during the night with 500 intelligent men and wrenched the fort of Virdhachal[1] from the hands of the enemy. Ḥusayn Dōst Khān marched out after the arrival of Aḥsanu'd-Dīn Khān, the *fawjdār* of the French, who was at Chittor and for whose sake the former waited at the battle-field of Ranjangadh. Both marched forward and once again confronted the army of the *sarkār* near a tank known as the Nawwāb Tank and gave battle. But Ḥusayn Dōst Khān did not find strength to continue the fight, turned his horse's reins from the field of battle and engaged himself to blockade the roads. Ḥaẓrat-i-Aʿlā learnt that the horse of ʿAbdu'l-Wahhāb Khān Bahādur fell at the battle of Ranjangadh struck by a cannon-ball, and sent for him. Ḥusayn Dōst Khān reached Samīwāram at a distance of four *kurōh* from Nattharnagar.

The arrival of Ḥusayn Dōst Khān at the fort of Nattharnagar[2] and other facts relating to the fight day by day.

Ḥusayn Dōst Khān had been routed at the battle of Ranjangadh; now he broke the cup of his honour on the *maydān* of the Nawwāb Tank adjoining Untātūr. Then he hastened to Samīwāram and camped there. Ḥaẓrat-i-Aʿlā ascended the

(1) Vriddhachalam was a large and strong pagoda garrisoned by 300 of Chanda Sahib's troops. It commanded the high road to Fort St. David and its capture was necessary for the English. The garrison was summoned by Muḥammad ʿAlī's officer to deliver up the place. They refused and manned the walls. The English troops under cover of the river bank, fired at them for some hours; but finding that this attack made little impression, they prepared towards evening to make a general assault, when the sight of the scaling ladders induced the governor to surrender. The English left a garrison of 20 Europeans and 50 Sepoys in the pagoda. (*Orme, p. 172.*)

(2) In March, 1751, Chanda Sahib and the French troops moved out from Pondicherry and proceeded, after reducing some forts, to Arcot;

hill of Tāymān, and observed through a telescope the condition of the army of Ḥusayn Dōst Khān. In accordance with the far-sightedness of his penetrating wisdom, he remarked thus to those present: "If Ḥusayn Dōst Khān crosses these two rivers in three days, and attacks the fort, then success will be his; but if he stays there a day more, then there is no doubt that the success is ours." Ḥusayn Dōst Khān had to stay in that same place for a period of two months and twenty days, engaging himself in taking possession of the territory and entrusting it to *'āmils*. Thus eventually the opinion of Ḥaẓrat-i-A'lā based on far-sightedness found its beautiful shape in the mirror of famous victory. People were astonished as to how he accomplished these things and with the aid of what knowledge, and what his skill was in discovering the future from the present. Aḥsanu'd-Dīn Khān marched with a French army according to instructions from his master Ḥusayn Dōst Khān and brought under his control the temple of Srirang and Jhamghīr (Jambukesvaram) which was like a fort. The vapour of his breath, caused by the heat of his exertions to subdue the tract of land from the Kaveri

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later, they spent some time more in receiving homage and tribute from the various *qil'adārs* who joined them. Then they marched southwards to Trichinopoly towards the end of May. In the middle of June, there was the battle of Volkondah whose *qil'adār*, Mu'tabir Khān, admitted neither side into the fort, and thus led to the encounter. D'Auteuil was then laid up with illness and Chanda Sahib was hindered by the defection of one of his generals who was in command of 4,000 horse. After some dilatory action Chanda Sahib and the French crossed the river Coleroon on July 25th and took possession of Srirangam. They completed their occupation of the island by the capture of the mud fort at Koviladi at its eastern end, and crossed the Kaveri and encamped on the plain to the east of the town near a position now known as the French-rock. The English having obtained no advantage even in the action round Uttatur and fearing they might be surrounded, marched to safer positions first to Bikshandarkoil, then to the Srirangam temple and finally to Trichinopoly itself. See G. B. Malleson's *History of the French in India*, pp [illegible] *et seq.*

as far as the hill of Dhobi-konda, went as far as the sky. Our Ḥaẓrat-i-A'lā, the possessor of intelligence and courage, divided his army into four troops to meet the evil-minded enemy. One troop under the command of Abrār Khān and Cope was posted to the east, another under the leadership of Dānishmand Khān and Janjī to the south, the third under the authority of Ghazanfar 'Alī Khān and other councillors to the west, the fourth under the command of Ẓafar 'Alī Khān known as Mīr Malang and other experienced men to the north. Then he raised a number of batteries on all sides of the fort, and brought together countless cannon. He fenced them by posting soldiers with sharp swords, by cannon and by muskets, to such an extent, that the enemy bit in grief the back of his hand, because of his incapacity to get at the entrenchment and dig through it. But the French took their stand on the above hill, and opened fire. In short the tumult of war on both the sides continued from the 6th of Ramaẓān till the 9th of Dhu'l-qa'da.[1] In the

(1) From Friday the 30th of July 1751 to September 30th, 1751 (1164 A.H.) (Brown's *An Ephemeris from A.D. 1751 until 1850*, pages 4 and 5).

Pigot, one of the Councillors and Lieutenant Clive proceeded from Fort St. David with a detachment of 80 Europeans and 300 sepoys to the reinforcement of Trichinopoly towards the end of July. The convoy entered Vriddhachalam without any loss and from here Pigot sent the detachment through the Tanjore country to reinforce the battalion at Trichinopoly, when the French had not yet crossed the Kaveri.

In the middle of July a Captain's commission was given to Clive who proceeded with a detachment into the country of Tanjore where he was joined by another from Devicotta under the command Captain Clarke, and the united forces consisting of 100 Europeans and 50 sepoys, met with a French body of 30 Europeans and 500 sepoys near the village of Condore situated 10 miles to the north of Tanjore. In the skirmish that followed the French officer was wounded, and his sepoys took to flight; the English arrived at Trichinopoly through a circuitous route. In spite of this reinforcement, the English at Trichinopoly did not exceed 600 men, whereas the French had 900, and the troops of Chanda Sahib far out-numbered those of the Nawwāb. In the meanwhile, Clive proposed an expedition against Arcot, which had already been suggested by the Nawwāb. Then came the siege

course of this fight, a small fort Koiladi, situated between the two rivers and lying at a distance of five *kurōh* to the east of Nattharnagar, was captured by the enemy after a week's fighting and the loss of many brave men, because of the heavy floods and the impossibility of sending reinforcements. After the floods subsided Ḥusayn Dōst Khān also came from Samīwāram and camped on the *maydān* of Dalwāymandaf which lay at a distance of one *kurōh* to the east of Nattharnagar. He put up a fence for the safety of the army, and exerted himself to blow up the batteries. In spite of the tumult caused by the rebellious enemy, all the four doors of the fort were kept open *like the ever watchful eye, for the coming in of provisions. Still* there was scarcity of corn on account of the protraction of the siege, the running of the enemy's forces to and fro, and the blockading of the roads; hence the distress of the men in the fort increased. A group of soldiers marched in all directions to break through siege, cleared the way of the obstructing enemy, brought provisions into the fort, and added the capital of strength to the endeavours of the brave fighting men.

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of Arcot. In September, Chanda Sahib detached 4,000 of his troops, horse and foot, from Trichinopoly to the relief of Arcot; and these were joined by his son Raja Sahib with 150 Europeans from Pondicherry. During these three months the operations round Trichinopoly were not very severe. But the army of Nawwāb Wālājāh exhausted the treasures; the revenues and supplies were greatly cut off.

The consultation of Ḥazrat-i-A'lā with the ministers of the court; the dispatch of Muḥammad Madīna Alī Khān and Clive (later on Lord Clive), the sardār of the English forces, with a victorious army to subdue the town of Arcot and its fort and the subjugation.

When weakness overtook the besieged at Nattharnagar, on account of the protraction of the siege and the stubbornness of the enemy, Ḥazrat-i-A'lā contrived to divide the attention of the enemy and thus to remove the weariness of his own men and clear the roads for the coming in of provisions. Accordingly Ḥazrat-i-A'lā dispatched Muḥammad Madīna 'Alī Khān,[1]

(1) Captain Clive on his return from Trichinopoly in the middle of August, represented the state of affairs to Governor Saunders and offered to attack the possessions of Chanda Sahib in the territory of Arcot so as to cause a diversion of his troops from Trichinopoly. The suggestion was accepted. Fort St. David and Madras were left with only 100 and 50 men respectively, and all the other available troops consisting of 300 sepoys and 200 Europeans equipped with three field-pieces marched on the 26th of August and arrived at Conjeevaram 3 days later. On the 31st of August Clive reached the neighbourhood of Arcot; a few hours after his arrival the garrison abandoned the fort in a movement of panic. Clive found a large quantity of gunpowder and eight pieces of cannon in the fort and collected provisions and materials in order to sustain a siege which he foresaw.

The credit for this diversion to Arcot should go in part to the Nawwāb himself, as for some time past he had been proposing it. Captain Gingen was even told that he might leave a garrison in the Trichinopoly country and march with the remainder to Arcot. But, he was "too sluggish and denied the possibility of such a course". Possibly Muḥammad 'Alī urged his Arcot plan on Clive, because the latter, immediately on his return from Trichinopoly, proposed to Saunders that he should be sent into the Arcot country with any troop that could be spared. Moreover, it should be remembered that Clive's important object then was to raise contributions for Muḥammad 'Alī and to interfere with the collection of revenue for Chanda Sahib. (See *Country Correspondence* 1751, pp. 42 and 48 and Dodwell's *Dupleix and Clive*, pp. 56 and 57.) In a letter, dated 17th Sep., 1751, from

and Clive, later on Lord Clive for his meritorious services, the *sardār* of the English army with sepoys who bore the enemy hatred, to subdue the town and the fort of Arcot and thus exhibit their courage. The Khān marched with Clive through the frontiers of Tondaman, and Tanjore, reached Dewnampattan and (thence) Chennapattan, where they put in order their army and implements of war and then started for Arcot. On hearing this news, the elder brother of Ḥusayn Dōst Khān, by name Muḥammad ʿAlī Khān, the *nā'ib* at Arcot, fled away with his baggage and equipage towards Vellore. So without any obstruction from any one, the invaders freely entered the fort of Arcot on 22nd of the respectable Shawwāl of the year 1164 A.H. and hoisted the flags of the exalted ruler. As soon as the picture was formed on the silk of their desire, they set in order the towers and battlements of the fort, collected provisions and took a firm stand expecting battle.

George Pigot to Clive, transcribed on pp. 87-89 of the Volume No. 287, 24, in the Orme Mss. O.V. (*see* p 216 of S C. Hill's *European Manuscripts in the India Office Library*, Vol. II, Part I, Orme Collection), we learn that Pigot advised Clive to maintain himself at Arcot, rather than in Ṭimiri to which place Clive had suggested to the Governor he should retire in case of attack by the enemy This letter shows that Clive was not fully aware of the political value of his own exploit.

That the Nawwāb himself had fully appreciated the consequence of a diversion to Arcot is seen in a letter (*No.* 43, 287 of Orme Mss O.V), in the above collection, from Governor Saunders to Clive, dated 26th Sep. 1751, enclosing copy of letter from Captain Cope at Trichinopoly and advising retention of Arcot. "The possession of Arcot is deemed of the utmost consequence. It does not appear . . . . . whether you intend for Madras. It is my opinion that you should keep in motion in the Arcot districts, as your being at Madras will carry with it the air of a retreat and possibly damp those spirits that your taking possession of Arcot has raised." See the paper on *The Diversion to Arcot in 1751: its genesis* by C. S Srinivasachari in the *Proceedings of the All India Modern History Congress*, First session Poona 1935, *Part II, pp.* 1 -23.

The arrival of Riẓā ʿAlī Khān (Raja Sahib), the son of Ḥusayn Dōst Khān, the siege of the fort at Arcot, the reaching of the reinforcements from Ḥaẓrat-i-Aʿlā, the flight of Riẓā towards Vellore, the fight between the two for the second time on the maydān of Arni, the defeat of the enemy, the victory for Madīna ʿAlī Khān, and the capture of the fort of Timiri by the grace of the Exalted Helper.

Ḥusayn Dōst Khān heard the news of the capture of the fort at Arcot, and was greatly disturbed in his mind. He chose, as advised by his foolish councillors, his younger son Riẓā ʿAlī Khān for the purpose of recapturing it, called him to his presence and spoke to him in appealing tone his sorrows. In reply, he heard manly words from his son's lips, relating to his treacherous attack on Nawwāb Anwaru'd-Dīn Khān Shahīd, and other boastful and vain bravery. Then Ḥusayn Dōst Khān dispatched his son, with an imposing army along with that of the French. Riẓā ʿAlī Khān reached Timiri, while the *sardār* of the vanguard of the army marched forward, directly entered the town of Arcot in the pride of the strength of his army and tried to fight under the shelter of the houses. Madīna ʿAlī Khān and Clive came out of the fort, and destroyed by means of cannon, muskets and swords, a large number of men. The enemy gaining ground amidst walls and buildings, and Riẓā ʿAlī Khān coming towards the fort, Madīna ʿAlī Khān and his party had to go inside the fort-walls wherefrom they laboured bravely to the best of their power to repel the attack of both the enemies (Riẓā ʿAlī Khān and *sardār* of the vanguard). Finally, owing to the great pressure of the enemy, the smallness of their own army, the breaking down of a portion of the wall on one side of the fort, and the excessive cannonading by the wretched enemy, Madīna ʿAlī Khān and his party felt so weak that their

lives were at stake and resolved to surrender the fort and conclude peace. In the meanwhile the reinforcements from Nattharnagar had approached; for as soon as Ḥaẓrat-i-A'lā heard the march of Riẓā 'Alī towards Arcot, he detached two thousand Mahratta horse belonging to Murari Rao,[1] from the forces of the allies who had joined him in obedience to the imperial *farmān* and sent them under Yūnus Khān from Nattharnagar towards Arcot for help. On hearing the approach of this army, and the name of Murari Rao, Riẓā 'Alī Khān was greatly frightened; for, as narrated before, Murari Rao had captured Ḥusayn Dōst Khān, the father of Riẓā 'Alī Khān, and entrusted the fort of Trichinopoly to the care of Raghoji and Fataḥ Singh who later on handed it over to Nawwāb Āṣaf Jāh Bahādur. Riẓā was much stupefied. But with the encouragement of the leader of the vanguard, the *sardār* of the French, he briskly attended to his work; with great vehemence he attacked the fort on all sides. The defenders of the fort also got information of the speedy approach of the relieving army. Their hearts were emboldened, and they attempted with great valour to repel the attack of the enemy. The vanguard was made to roll in a ditch of blood. The next morning, the army of the Mahrattas also appeared. Immediately the besiegers were greatly frightened, left their things and heavy cannon, took only such things they could carry and crept, like a mouse that had seen a cat, into the hole of the fort of Vellore. Madīna 'Alī Khān and Clive came out of the fort and met Yūnus Khān.

(1) Murari Rao lay for some time in his encampment at the foot of the *Ghats about 30 miles from Arcot. He had been employed by the ruler* of Mysore to assist Muhammad 'Alī; but he remained inactive on account of the depression in the fortunes of the English and of the Nawwāb. Orme tells us that Clive sent a messenger to inform him of the situation and to request his help, and Murari Rao was said to have replied that he would not delay a moment to send a detachment for the reinforcement of troops like the defenders of Arcot who had fought so bravely and whose behaviour had convinced him that the English could fight

the leader of the relieving army. Then they engaged themselves in strengthening the town and repairing the fort. In the meanwhile the dispersed enemy was augmented by the Vellore forces. So they hastened with renewed pride, intending to give battle on the *maydān* of Arni.[1] Madīna Ālī Khān and Clive supported by the newly arrived army, advanced to meet the enemy, again defeated them and drove them towards Chenjī. Then the victorious army returned subduing on their way the fort of Timiri[2] which was under the possession of Ḥusayn Dōst Khān. They entered the town of Arcot and engaged themselves in arranging the affairs of the kingdom and the army.

The fight between Rizā Ālī Khān and Clive in the middle of the way to Tirpātara; the arrival of Mīr Madīna Ālī Khān and Yūnus Khān to help Clive; the flight of Rizā Ālī Khān towards Phulcheri; the opening of the door of the fort-walls of Kanjī and Kaveripak by the brave hands of the friends of the Government.

On hearing the happy news of the subjugation of the fort of Timiri, Ḥazrat-i-A'lā offered his thanks to Allāh. Then he wrote, two letters: one to Mīr Madīna Ālī Khān conveying appreciation and praise of his services, and instructing him to recoup the army, to subjugate other forts and take possession of the districts under Arcot; another letter to the governor of Chennapattan, asking him to help the Mīr with an army and necessary equipments. Then he appointed some of his devoted

(1) Arni is a strong fort with a town 20 miles south of Arcot.

(2) Clive's first movement was against Timiri where the English marched out to meet the fugitive Arcot garrison of 600 horse and 500 troops and forced them to retreat to the hills in their rear. M. Dupleix urged Raja Sahib to proceed immediately to Arcot to avoid trouble. Meanwhile Clive's troops sallied out from Arcot on Timiri on the 17th of September, and secured its surrender on the 9th of November.

servants as *silādārs* and *qil'ādārs* and made them join the Mīr along with an army of one thousand horse, detached from the forces of his ally Karāchūrī Nand Raj.1 After the arrival of the army and the receipt of the order from the Nawwāb, Mīr Madīna 'Alī Khān, dispatched Clive to Chennapattan to get ready another army and necessary war equipments, while he engaged himself in repairing the forts of Arcot and Timiri. Then he stationed Yūnus Khān with all the relieving forces, outside the town on the shores of the river for the purpose of guarding the districts and conveying necessary provisions to the two newly subjugated forts; he appointed the English *sardār* by name Vakīl Pādar (Kilpatrick?) who was the *nā'ib* of Clive, as the *qil'ādār* of Arcot, and busied himself in gathering the ryots and peopling the town. At that time a *ṣūbadār* who had control over one hundred musketeers was under the command of the *sardār* and had charge of the two towers of the fort. This *ṣūbadār* who had close friendship with Riẓā 'Alī Khān took bribe, and secretly covenanted with him, for the handing

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(1) Karāchūrī Nand Raj was the younger brother of Deva Raja, the Dalavayi of Mysore and surnamed Karāchūrī (that is, a word and a thrust with the dagger). He was a truculent person and contributed in a great measure to the eclipse of the ruling dynasty and the rise of Ḥaydar 'Alī. After a successful expedition into the Coimbatore country, he gave his daughter in marriage to the nominal Raja, as a first step to his ambitious projects. Ḥaydar first came under his notice in 1749, during the siege of Devanahalli. He agreed, against the wishes of his elder brother, Deva Raja, the Dalavayi, to assist Muḥammad 'Alī, and led an army of 5,000 and 10,000 infantry from Srirangapatam to Trichinopoly, about the time of Clive's siege and subsequent defence of Arcot. His activities round Trichinopoly lasted till 1755 when he returned to Mysore on the summons of his brother, in order to repel an invasion of Ṣalābat Jang and M. Bussy. Deva Raja retired from the government in 1757, disgusted with the cruelty practised by Nanja Raja towards the men who had attempted to throw off the supremacy of the two brothers. Nanja Raja was responsible for the usurpation of Ḥaydar 'Alī who got him imprisoned in 1767. See *The Mysore Gazetteer*, Revised edition, Vol. II, Part IV, pp. 2466, *et seq.*

over of the fort. Relying on that *ṣūbadār* Riẓā ʿAlī Khān marched from Chenjī with his evil intention to attack the fort. When he reached the shores of the river Arcot, Mīr Madīna ʿAlī Khān got news of what had happened and informed the *qilʿadār* who gibbeted the traitor. Then with the aid of the cannon of the fort, they presented a series of cannon-balls to the wicked enemy who had come with vain notions. Riẓā ʿAlī Khān disengaged himself from that work feeling his own want of war equipments and seeing that the Muslim and *frang* (English) *sardār* were informed of his deceitful ideas. Then he camped at Kaveripak situated at a distance of two *kurōh* from Arcot, leaving there the French army as a precaution against the march of the army of the *sarkār*. Madīna ʿAlī Khān, with the idea of capturing Kaveripak[1] wrote to

(1) After the repulse by the besiegers of Arcot, on the 25th November, Raja Sahib was driven from Arni to Chettupattu and Clive marched on Conjeevaram which had been in the meanwhile taken by the French, reduced it and compelled the garrison to flee to Chingleput. As soon as the English troops had gone into garrison, the French marched along the coast, plundered Poonamalli and St. Thomas Mount and re-occupied Conjeevaram in January. Clive hastily raised a new force and took the field with a small number of men inferior in infantry and completely lacking in cavalry. The enemy had entrenched themselves at Vandalur, but on Clive's approach retreated towards Arcot, in the hope of surprising it. Clive hastened after them, first towards Conjeevaram whither he supposed them to have gone, and then towards Arcot. He came upon them suddenly at Kaveripak as dusk was falling and his first warning of their presence was their artillery opening fire from 250 yards on his advanced guard. Clive ordered his troops into a deep water-course on the left of the road, whence by the light of the moon the action was continued. Finding by the report of a sergeant whom he sent to reconnoitre, that the enemy's rear was unguarded he detached half his force to attack them, and himself accompanied the detachment part of the way. On returning to the men he had left behind, he found them quitting the water-course, and could scarcely bring them back to the position they had deserted. After a tedious interval of an hour, the sound of musketry in the rear was heard. The detachment had reached unobserved a position only 50 yards in rear of the French, whence they had poured in a

Clive informing him of the past events and his own view, and invited him. On hearing the news, Clive immediately marched with an army from Chennapattan. He reached Kanjī, brought under his power the walls of its temple, deputed a company of men to guard that place, and then attacked Tirpātūr. Riẓā ʿAlī Khān with the aid of the French and his own horse, blockaded the ways. There was thick fight from 3 o'clock in the afternoon till sunset, and it was not possible to declare the conqueror or the conquered. At this juncture Mīr Madīna ʿAlī Khān who guessed the nature of the fight on hearing the roar of the cannon, marched from the shores of the river of Arcot with his own army and the relieving force. He started at 4 o'clock and marched so quickly that he reached the battle-field at 9 o'clock in the night just when Clive was in despair of the issue, considering the strength and the pomp of the enemy and the smallness of his own army. Thus Madīna ʿAlī Khān suddenly arrived at the battle-field and attacked the enemy from behind. The forces of the enemy had not the strength to withstand the attacks from both sides and so cut asunder the rope of resistance. Owing to the darkness of the night Riẓā ʿAlī Khān could not discern his army which was running *risāla* after *risāla* and troop after troop. Imagining that they were all firm, he was also steady in the field. It was only when the allied forces drove the enemy, and became victorious the eyes of Riẓā ʿAlī Khān were opened. On realising the situation, he grew impatient and restless and fled away alone to Phulcheri. His baggage and other things fell into the hands of the victorious army on the 24th of Rabīʿuth-thānī of the year 1165 A.H. After the sight of success Madīna ʿAlī Khān and Clive met and congratulated each other and sent a letter convey-

general volley, which did great execution and struck the enemy with panic. They fled, abandoning everything. (pp. 59-60, *Dupleix and Clive*, by H. Dodwell)

ing the news of success to Ḥaẓrat-i-A'lā. Next day they firmly resolved to subdue the fort of Kaveripak. They exhibited their intrepidity, captured that fort also and entrusted it to the *thānadārs*. Then they appointed four trustworthy men for the post of *zilūdārs* in each of the four places situated in four directions, *i.e.*, Arcot, Timiri, Kaveripak and Kanjī. After these arrangements Clive took his way to Chennapattan while Madīna 'Alī Khān returned to Arcot, to get ready war equipments and then subdue the fort of Vellore and other forts and districts under Arcot.

Ḥusayn Dōst Khān learns the flight of his son towards Phulcheri as a result of the fight against the army of the sarkār, conceals the above news, attacks the fort of Nattharnagar, and returns from that fort.

As a matter of policy required in the then circumstances, Ḥusayn Dōst Khān not only concealed from the knowledge of men, the sad news of the flight of his own son but also got up a function to celebrate his success and to gloat over the defeat of the English which was contrary to facts. However it may be, a woman with the accoutrements of a soldier does not become a lieutenant, an old man by cutting his beard does not become a youth. The fact became trumpeted throughout the town and the *bāzār*, among high and low, and in all places. Old and experienced men, and those tried by the times represented thus to Ḥusayn Dōst Khān: "From the day of the beginning of the war, success was the lot of Muḥammad 'Alī Khān in every fight and on every *maydān*, while inevitable defeat was the share of our well-wishing forces. The reliance on the French in the affairs of war was like the participation of *Iblīs*[1] in a good

(1) *Iblīs* (the devil) is believed to be descended from *Jinn*, the progenitor of the evil genii. He is said to have been named Azāzīl, and to have possessed authority over the animal and spirit kingdom. But when God created Ādam, the devil refused to prostrate before him, and he was

work. To oppose a man who has divine help is like the tearing of one's own collar of prosperity. In the trustworthy opinion of the council of sagacious men the defeat of Riẓā 'Alī Khān, the son of the exalted authority, was an augury for ruin of the affairs of the *sarkār*. It behoves the intelligent to calculate the end of anything from the very beginning. Since the *niẓāmat* of the *sarkār* has not the support of *sanad*, none of the zamindars of this land has any faith in the false authority. It is evident that nothing is gained by our unceasing endeavours during this period of war for nine months. It is therefore necessary that we attack the fort of Nattharnagar and try the strength of our luck. Perhaps we may, by following such a course, open the door of success and make up for the disgrace caused by the flight of Riẓā 'Alī Khān." Ḥusayn Dōst Khān listened to these discourses, looked around in anger, and said, "Though Riẓā 'Alī Khān lost the affair out of foolishness and gained the name of a runaway as a reward for his cowardice, yet, I, with (the help of) my courage, bold army, and strength, believe it certain that in a very short time, I will raise my head with authority over this kingdom. The preservation of this kingdom depends upon our subjugation of the single fort of Nattharnagar. The exertion and labour in other places will have no effect; I can, nay, I will finish my work here easily; immediately I will hasten to the Deccan, thence I will urge my

therefore expelled from Eden. The sentence of death was then pronounced upon *Iblīs*; but upon seeking a respite, he obtained it until the Day of Judgment when he will be destroyed *Vide* Qurān, *Sura* VII. According to Qurān, the devil was created of fire, whilst Adam was created of clay. There are two words used in the Qurān to denote this great spirit of evil. (1) Shayṭān, an Arabic word derived from *shaṭn* (Opposition). (2) *Iblīs*, devil from *balas* a wicked person. The former expression occurs in the Qurān fifty-two times and the latter only nine, while in some verses, *Sura* ii. the two words Shayṭān and *Iblīs* refer to the same personality. According to *Majma'ul Baḥr*, Shayṭān denotes one who is far from truth, and *Iblīs* one who is without hope.

high-blooded horse against Hindustan. Thus it will become possible for me to roll the ball of my power from Bengal as far as Sind." After this foolish speech, he attacked the fort of Nattharnagar[1] on the eastern side and kindled the fire of the artillery of the French. Our Ḥaẓrat-i-A'lā informed himself of all these facts; laughed at the useless activities of the enemy, drew the sword from the sheath, and made the cannon of the fort shed lightnings on the cotton field of the forces of the wicked enemy. When the wall of the fort began to blaze on account of the different kinds of fire-raining implements and the ditch became full to overflowing with the blood of the French, the enemy returned in regret for the loss caused by his mean act, and great disgrace and ignominy of disappointment. But without any shame, they girt their loins next day. Thus not a day passed without useless action, nor did they remain idle without seeking fight.

(1) We have information from Ananda Ranga Pillai's Diary regarding the operations round Trichinopoly from about October. Ḥasanu'd-Dīn Khān, and his troops attacked towards the close of November, the battlements built by Cope outside the fort-gate and Cope and Gingen were not pulling on well. There was a battle between the English and Ḥasanu'd-Dīn Khān towards the end of December in which the Khān was repulsed after severe fight but was rescued by M. Law, and 'Alam Khān. It seems that Ḥasanu'd-Dīn was lured into an ambush and many of his men were cut off; though Chanda Sahib, 'Alam Khān and M. Law advanced to his help yet they were forced to abandon a battery which they had occupied. The French had established themselves at Sarkarpalayam, that is, the Chuklypalayam of Orme, on the southern bank of the Kaveri about 2½ miles to the east of the town and their principal battery was raised a little to the south of the north-east angle of the fort. They also mounted guns on the French-rock and in the Srirangam Island and on the rock of Erumbeswaram. Chanda Sahib's cavalry fared badly in the engagements in December. See Orme, Vol. I, pp. 200, *et seq.*

The coming of Karāchūrī Nand Raj, the Raja of Mysore, and Murari Rao the ṭarafdār at Gooty, for the purpose of helping the Nawwāb, in obedience to the order of the imperial Pādshāh; Abdu'l-Wahhāb Khān Bahādur advances to receive them; their fight on their return way against M. Kālīr; Cope gets wounded; they reach the presence of Ḥazrat-i-A'lā with success; a brief account of the early history of Ḥaydar Alī Khān.

In obedience to the orders of the Emperor and the Nawwāb Ghāziu'd-Dīn Khān Bahādur, which had already been communicated to all the zamindars and others, Karāchūrī Nand Raj, the *silādār* of Mysore, and Murari Rao, the *silādār* of Gooty, were the first to send their forces under the command of Yūnus Khān and others. An account of their participation in the engagements of Mīr Madīna Alī Khān has already been detailed in the previous pages. The above ṭarafdārs, then marched in person with a large army and countless equipments, and reached the vicinity of Salem adjoining the boundary of Nattharnagar where they camped on account of the blockading of the roads by the enemy's forces. They sent a letter to Ḥazrat-i-A'lā, waited for a reply and hoped for a reception by Abdu'l-Wahhāb Khān Bahādur in keeping with their respect and honour. Seeing the disturbance caused by the enemy Ḥazrat-i-A'lā out of his brotherly love did not desire to send his brother. But in spite of Ḥazrat-i-A'lā's unwillingness, the Bahādur obtained permission with great endeavour, and started with an army befitting the *sarkār* and that of the English, taking in his company Cope. He left Nattharnagar in the darkness of the night, proclaiming that they intended to attack the enemy's forces in the night, while they concealed their real object. He reached his destination before morning, welcomed Karāchūrī Nand Raj and Murari Rao, met them in private,

became the gainer of their services and thus achieved all his heart's desires. After attending to their comforts he took them in his company and returned with them to Ḥaẓrat-i-A'lā. In the middle of the way at the small fort with mud walls in Krishnapur[1] under Nattharnagar, Cope saw the French forces ready for action, and according to the sense of honour of his community, he was impelled to subjugate that fort. 'Abdu'l-Wahhāb Khān Bahādur the commander of the army, pointed out to him the undesirability of the delay on the way, the unseasonable strain for the sepoys, the useless endeavour in a profitless work, the necessity to reach the destination and dissuaded him; yet, he was obstinate and finally the troops were arranged to the right and the left, to the front and to the back; *sardārs* brave as Rustam were appointed and thus inevitably they had to gird up their loins for war. M. Kālīr, the guard of that place also came out of the fort with his army, gathered his cannon to oppose the enemy, and attempted to charge violently. Thus the fire of battle was kindled. When the bellowing of the cannon on both the sides gave a portion of the world to the wind of destruction, and heaps of dead bodies like mountains fell as heavy loads on the jungle, the enemy turned his face from the battle-field and took refuge in the fort. Cope was wounded by a cannon-ball. The leader of the army did not care to subdue

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(1) Krishnapur or Krishnavaram was situated 30 miles to the west of Trichinopoly on the high road to Mysore. It was seized by a strong party of the French and Chanda Sahib's sepoys who threatened to attack the Mysoreans on the frontier of Karur about the beginning of December. Lieutenant Trusler was sent over to dislodge the enemy from Krishnapur; but he found them in a much stronger position than he expected. Cope was then sent with a stronger party to attack the French posts. But both were repulsed and killed in the attack. The fort of Krishnavaram was surrounded by a mud wall flanked by round towers. The northern side was close to the bank of the Kaveri, the other sides were surrounded by a deep morass. To the west, the French had built an entrenchment. The Mysore army consisting of 12,000 horse and 8,000 foot, proceeded by a different route to Trichinopoly, and the enemies' attention was diverted by a false attack by Captain Dalton.

the fort. He stayed in that place for a day and on the next day he marched with his victorious army, seeking the presence of Ḥaẓrat-i-A'lā. Karāchūrī Nand Raj and Murari Rao had the honour of meeting Ḥaẓrat-i-A'lā. On the day of arrival at Nattharnagar Cope who was staying with the army in his wounded condition completed his life in this world.

The mention of a fact in parenthesis here

Ḥaydar 'Alī Khān[1] known as Ḥaydar Nāyak was the son of Fataḥ Nāyak; he was brought up in the house of 'Abbās

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(1) Ḥaydar was the great-grandson of Muhammad Buhlūl an emigrant from the Panjab who settled down as a religious man in the district of Gulburga. His two sons, Muhammad 'Alī and Muhammad Walī, married at Gulburga and then came to Sera where they obtained employment as Customs peons. They then removed to Kolar. Muhammad Walī turned out the widow and son of his brother who had died. They were taken in by a Nāyak among the peons of Kolar. When Fatah Muhammad, the son, was old enough the Nāyak made him a peon. At the siege of Gandikottah Fataḥ Muḥammad distinguished himself and he was made a Nāyak. He tried to raise his fortunes at Arcot and later entered the service of the *fawjdār* of Chittor. After sometime, Fatah Muhammad known as Fataḥ Nāyak returned to Mysore. He was appointed as *fawjdār* of Kolar with the title of Fataḥ Muhammad Khān, and was given the *Jāgīr* of Budikota. Ḥaydar and Shāhbāz were the two sons of Fataḥ Muhammad by a third wife. Fataḥ Muḥammad was killed in 1729 in a battle between the *ṣūbadār* of Sera and the *fawjdār* of Chittor in 1729. Haydar and his brother Shāhbāz were ill-treated for a time and later on found shelter with their maternal uncle Ibrāhīm Ṣāhib. In 1741 when Nanja Raja was besieging Devanahalli, Ḥaydar accompanied his elder brother Shāhbāz who then commanded a small horse and foot. It was during the nine months' siege of Devanahalli that Ḥaydar attracted the notice of Nanja Raja by his coolness and courage and was given the command of 50 horse and 200 foot and also orders to increase his corps. He was also appointed at the same time to be in charge of one of the gates of Devanahalli. Ḥaydar accompanied Nanja Raja from Srirangapatam and it is said that the only regular troops in the whole of the Mysore forces were the small body in the corps of Ḥaydar 'Alī. See the biography of Haydar 'Alī by Wilks; Bourring; Michaud; Kirmani (translated by Miles).

Qulī Khān[1] the *qilʿadār* of Sera. Owing to a theft in his master's house, Ḥaydar ran away fearing punishment and became an attendant of Karāchūrī Nand Raj who appointed him as *ʿuhdadār* over a party of twenty foot-soldiers. Ḥaydar sought recommendation from ʿAbduʾl-Wahhāb Khān Bahādur when the latter went to receive Karāchūrī Nand Raj and obtained the post of a *sardār* over one hundred foot-soldiers. After the Bahādur reached the presence of Ḥaẓrat-i-Aʿlā with Nand Raj and others, Ḥaydar was not admitted to the presence of the Nawwāb, yet he thought it a gratuitous honour for himself to roam about the royal palace and to have intimacy with the attendants there[2]. With the approval of ʿAbduʾl-Wahhāb Khān Bahādur he submitted his request to Ḥaẓrat-i-Aʿlā and obtained an order from him according to which Ḥaydar secured from his master the rank of a *sardār* over one thousand foot-soldiers. On the day when General Lawrence reached the presence of Ḥaẓrat-i-Aʿlā, he demonstrated his skill in drawing up the soldiers in file and according to the order of Ḥaẓrat-i-Aʿlā he obtained the command over 200 horses in addition to his previous *manṣab* over one thousand foot-soldiers, and raised his head in pride and honour. Thus after a time he became powerful by the favour of fortune and his hand which he drew out from his powerful sleeve was stretched to rob the power of his two masters old and new. He denuded his first master[3] Qulī

(1) ʿAbduʾl-Rasūl-Khān of Dhodballapur was the *ṣūbadār* of Sera in 1729 when Ḥaydar's father Fataḥ Muḥammad fell in battle. ʿAbduʾl-Rasūl-Khān also died in the same battle. His son ʿAbbās Qulī Khān plundered the families placed in his power and tortured Shāhbāz and his brother Ḥaydar who were then young children for payment of a pretended balance due from their father. They were then allowed to depart to Bangalore.

(2) The enmity between Ḥaydar and Muḥammad ʿAlī is the motive for this disparagement by the author.

(3) Ḥaydar sought his revenge after 32 years with all the virulence belonging to the memory of a recent injury. ʿAbbās Qulī Khān fled to Madras leaving his family to its fate. Ḥaydar however treated his victim's mother with distinction and generosity; but the terror of ʿAbbās Qulī Khān was

Khān of power and kingdom The Khān sought refuge under Hazrat-i-A'la who fixed a monthly allowance of five thousand rupees and honoured him as one of the intimate companions His second master Nand Raj[1] was imprisoned for life at Srirangapattan where he died The details of his rebellion, atrocities and disturbances at the time of writing this book had made a hurly-burly like that of death in the whole kingdom of Arcot under Payanghāt These facts are slightly touched in the introduction to this book The details relating to the imprisonment of Abdul-Wahhab Khān Bahādur and his release from his distress—all these accounts from beginning to end may be noticed in the second book

Hazrat-i-A'la summons Yunus Khan and Clive to his presence, their march with an army through Devanampattan, their meeting with General Lawrence, and the joint arrival of these two forces to a place adjoining Nattharnagar

When the rivers of auxiliary forces, swollen by the heavy rains bestowed by the Eternal Fortune boiled like a sea, the billowing of the daily fight drowned the peace-boat in the water of inimical sword Considering the protraction of the siege and the long duration of the fight, Hazrat-i-A'la desired to repel the enemy and remove the dust of mischief from his sight In the meanwhile he heard the firm resolve of Mīr Madina Alī Khān and Clive to subdue the fort of Vellore So he wrote letters to the Khān and the governor of Chennapattan with

so great that when Haydar invaded the Carnatic in 1769 and presented himself at the gates of Madras, Abbās Quli embarked in a crazy vessel and would not land till he heard that Haydar had departed into the interior

(1) Nanja Raja was, in the course of the first Mysore war, discovered by Haydar to be negotiating with the Mahrattas and the nizam Haydar induced the Raja by a false oath of security to come to Srirangapatam on the plea that his advice was needed in the critical state of the country, then he made him a prisoner and forced him to live on the barest necessities of life

regard to the suspension of war in Vellore, the postponement of it to a future date, and the necessity to send the forces from that place to his presence. These letters were dispatched. Considering the limitations during times of siege, the practice of sending letters in those days was as follows according to the unanimous opinion of wise men: Letters were written on silken paper and concealed in wax made into a pill which they entrusted to the messenger along with a purgative pill. When the messenger happened to go by or come near the forces of the enemy he swallowed the pill which contained the letter. After he safely passed by, he gulped down the purgative pill which inevitably acted on his bowels and brought out the pill containing the letter. The messenger of Ḥaẓrat-i-A'lā also followed the same course and delivered the letters to the two addressees. According to the letter Mīr Madīna 'Alī Khān dispatched Yūnus Khān with a suitable army to Natharnagar. This Yūnus Khān the *'ilāqadār* of Murari Rao, had formerly been to Arcot, in obedience to the orders of Ḥaẓrat-i-A'lā, at the time of battle against Riẓā 'Alī Khān. The Governor of Chennapattan sent Clive—who had been to subjugate Arcot along with Mīr Madīna 'Alī Khān—with a well-equipped army to the presence of the Nawwāb. These *sardārs* reached Dewnampattan where, for the help of Ḥaẓrat-i-A'lā, they took in their company General Lawrence (then Major) as well as a contingent recently arrived from England, and all marched[1]

(1) Yūnus Khān or Innis Khān was the principal officer of Murari Rao. He arrived in December at Trichinopoly with five hundred Mahrattas, struck out a plan to draw the enemy into an ambush and contrived to charge them successfully. He was elated at this victory and even dreamt of the glory of finishing the war himself. In April, 1752, he accompanied Clive to Samayavaram.

Lawrence landed at Fort St. David in the middle of March and thence marched to Trichinopoly with 400 Europeans and 130 sepoys whom Clive had just brought from Arcot through the Tanjore country. They were escorting

out through Tanjore and Pālaya-Tondaman,[1] to have the honour of meeting Ḥaẓrat-i-A'lā and exhibit the pearl of their valour.

Husayn Dōst Khān and the French along with their army hinder the way of Yūnus Khān and General Lawrence; Hazrat-i-A'lā comes out of the fort[2] with his own army and allied forces to render them help. The two sardārs have the honour of meeting the Nawwāb; the fight, the victory for the glorious army of the sarkār, and the flight of the accursed enemy.

When Yūnus Khān and Clive in company with General Lawrence reached a place at a distance of two *kurōh* from the fort of Nattharnagar, they could not proceed on their way owing to the obstruction of Ḥusayn Dōst Khān and the French;

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a huge quantity of military stores and 8 field pieces When they approached Trichinopoly, the enemies came out to meet them but were forced to retire.

(1) This may perhaps refer to Palayavanam Zamindari in the Tanjore District, connected with the Tondaman

(2) Towards the middle of April, as mentioned in the previous note, there was severe cannonading near Koviladi between the French who were posted at that place with a strong artillery and the English forces. Then Lawrence advanced to within ten miles of Trichinopoly, Captain Dalton and some European troops and sepoys were ordered to join the reinforcements. At Elumisaram (Erumbesvaram) near the present Tiruverumbur railway station, is a small hill with a fortified pagoda upon which the French had mounted cannon. The French army were drawn up between the French-rock and Elumisaram while other troops were arrayed from the hill as far as the village of Sarkarpalayam. At noon Captain Dalton, with some troops of Mysore and of the Nawwab, joined Lawrence between Elumisaram and the Sugarloaf rock. There was an engagement in the afternoon when the enemy contented themselves with cannonading while their battalion advanced. The cannonading was very fierce, the French battalion began to waver, but Chanda Sahib's cavalry kept its ground for some time and sustained the cannonade "with much more firmness than had ever been observed in the troops of India", they were animated by the example of their commander, 'Alam Khān, whose head was at last blown off by a cannon ball. On seeing the death of 'Alam Khān the cavalry gave way and retreated.

so they encamped on the bank of a tank and sent a messenger to inform the Nawwāb of their arrival. As soon as Ḥaẓrat-i-A'lā heard the news, he divided the whole force (his own army and the auxiliary forces) into two well-equipped groups, and started for their rescue while the *gāwi-zamīn* began to tremble because it had not enough strength to bear the heavy weight of his army. Ḥaẓrat-i-A'lā stood on the bank of the river named *arsh-kālwah*,[1] which branches off from the Kaveri, towards the western side of the fort and flows to the south; he noticed Ḥusayn Dōst Khān marching with his army opposite the fort to obstruct the reinforcements of the *sarkār*. Weighing the position by his steady judgment and comprehension, he saw the image of success in the mirror of the mode of Ḥusayn Dōst Khān's army. Then he addressed those present thus: "By the grace of the Great Conqueror, success will be ours without any doubt." To be brief, the army of the Nawwāb, and the forces of those who longed to achieve the happiness of meeting Ḥaẓrat-i-A'lā marched off outstripping each other and joined together. Considering the situation, they divided the whole army into two groups; they

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Captains Clive and Dalton pursued the French into a great watercourse near the French-rock and would have effected a havoc among them had not Major Lawrence ordered them to stop the pursuit. The French lost about 30 men; 300 of Chanda Sahib's troops with 285 horses and an elephant lay dead on the field. The success on this day might have been much greater, had the confederate troops acted together in union instead of remaining at a distance as idle spectators; nor could they be prevailed upon to make a single charge, even when the enemy's cavalry retreated. This inaction proceeded not from want of bravery, but from the treachery of Murari Rao, who being at this time in treaty with Chanda Sahib, was unwilling to bring his Mahrattas into action and the opinion entertained of their courage was such that the rest of the allies would not venture to fight without them.

Major Lawrence arrived at Trichinopoly, on the evening of 30th of April and the next day conferred with the Nawwāb and other generals on the plan of future operations. (*Vide* Orme, Vol. I, pp. 216-17.)

(1) For a plan of the country of Trichinopoly, see the *Gazetteer of the Trichinopoly District* by F. R. Hemingway, pp. 330—1 (1907).

arranged and stationed at suitable places cannon, foot-soldiers and horse, and marched forward keeping in view the plans and regulations of warfare. The enemy also arranged his own army and that of the wicked French and started out with the fire of envy which was like the flame ready to quench itself for ever. The attempts on both the sides were exhibited to such an extent that the visible world presented the spectacle of the next world, and the living ear heard the sound 'Death awaits every one.' ʿĀlam ʿAlī Khān who was the life of the brave men and the strength of the valiant army of Ḥusayn Dōst Khān, on that judgment day when there was no intercession, rode his horse, posted himself before the elephant of his master and was busily engaged in chopping down the heads of his enemies. However much his master called him to issue an order, the voice was drowned in the booming of the cannon, and he could not hear. Hence *ḥakīm* ʿAbdu'r-Razzāq ʿAlī Khān who, before getting this title from Ḥaẓrat-i-Aʿlā, was known by his original name of Ghulām ʿAlī and was engaged in the service of Ḥusayn Dōst Khān, drove forward and informed ʿĀlam ʿAlī Khān of the call of the master. As soon as ʿĀlam ʿAlī Khān turned his face towards Ghulam ʿAlī, the cannon ball shot by the army of General Lawrence carried off his head from his body. Thus the horse and its rider fled from the battle-field. The vehemence of the heat of the sun on that day seemed to hold the banner of the day of resurrection. On account of the excessive melting none could distinguish wax from stone. A brief account of the heat on that day from the Nawwāb's own tongue, inflamed with the blaze of the following speech, enriched the hearing, while the wick of imagination blazed up the lamp of bewilderment, *viz.*, on account of the helplessness due to the tyranny of the heat, the coat of mail hid itself in the skin of the body; the wet towel placed on the neck and the shoulder, to allay the heat, burnt like a torch on account of the excessive heat of the body. In

this condition Ḥaẓrat-i-A'lā with the support of the strength of the God-given bravery, overcame the enemy with whom he had no chance of meeting from the beginning of the siege till that time, drove them in great disgrace with the misfortune of losing 'Ālam 'Alī Khān, and raised the banner of victory. Ḥaẓrat-i-A'lā favoured General Lawrence with the presents of an elephant, cash, and precious stones, and honoured Clive by the grant of a horse, cash and *khil'at*.

Ḥusayn Dōst Khān takes shelter in the temples of Srirang and Jhamgīr;[1] *Ḥaẓrat-i-A'lā lays siege to them commissioning his army destined to conquer the fort.*

Ḥusayn Dōst Khān felt aggrieved and helpless on account of the death of 'Ālam 'Alī Khān the leader of his army. Since Ḥusayn Dōst Khān considered it to be imprudent to stay near the fort of Nattharnagar, he assembled together his advisers, and councillors of war, and placed before them his weakness to fight on the *maydān*, his inability to spread out, the death of the brave and resolute companions, the destruction of a great portion of his army, the successive defeats in spite of great zeal, treasures, and wealth; he put forward the advisability of quitting the battle-field and taking shelter in the temple of Srirang. Then he consigned to flames ponderous articles, and during the night fled towards the temple of Jhamgīr and Srirang, situated between the two rivers, the Kaveri and Kūrdam (the Coleroon). He left his companions in the first temple while he himself ran alone and chose the second temple, which had seven solid compounds and was strong, for safe retreat in his deranged condition. A day later, the army of the *sarkār* laid siege to the two temples and pressed hard the runaway by blockading the roads on all sides. By dispatching horses they shut out the

(1) The temple at Jambukeswaram, in the island of Srirangam to the east of the great Vishnu temple.

ways and prevented provisions coming from the districts. Finally with the seizure of the salt, the strength of body and soul of the enemies was shattered.

Ḥusayn Dōst Khān writes a letter to M. Dupleix, the governor of Phulcheri, for an army and provisions; M. Dupleix sends M. Datīl along with necessary equipments required by the Khān.

Ḥusayn Dōst Khān became frightened at the loss of his treasure, the ruin of his army, and his being shut up in the temple of Srirang and Jhamgīr. So he wrote a letter to the governor of Phulcheri indicating his helplessness, heart-rending sorrow, with details regarding his miserable condition, his confinement in the temple of Srirang, entreating for provisions and reinforcements and praying compliance with his request. So M. Datīl (D'Auteuil),[1] the skilful *sardār* of the French, marched forth covering hastily *manzil* after *manzil* with an army, implements of war, and provisions for the relief of Ḥusayn Dōst Khān. On reaching Ranjangadh, the French General wished to alight at its fort, but the *qilʿadār* of that place who knew the victory of Ḥaẓrat-i-Aʿlā, did not permit him fearing the consequences and sent word that he could go to and halt at Wālkandahpūr situated at a distance of only one *kurōh*. So M. Datīl marched with his army to Wālkandahpūr and encamped there.

(1) D'Auteuil had taken part in the battle of Ambur, in the operations against Nāṣir Jang and also in M. Bussy's capture of Gingee. He commanded the French troops along with Chanda Sahib in the fight at Volkondah. He marched with reinforcement for the French troops under M. Law and engaged Dalton's party near Uttatur on the 20th of May, 1752.

Aḥsanu'd-Dīn Khān and M. Las attack during night the army of the sarkār at Samīwāram; the capture and release of Clive; the defeat of the Khān, the imprisonment of the French.

After Ḥusayn Dōst Khān was hemmed in, the armies of the *sarkār* with famous *sardārs*, stationed themselves (at various places) to blockade the ways round about the temples of Srirang and Jhamgīr. One big division of the army under Muḥammad Abrār Khān, the intimate friend of Ḥaẓrat-i-A'lā, Yūnus Khān the employee of Murari Rao, and Manaji Rao[1] the chieftain of Tanjore, fixed the banners at Samīwāram situated at a distance of three *kurōh* from the temple and on the way through which reinforcements should pass to the besieged. Of these companions Clive alone halted at a small temple with his soldiers while the labourers were at the door way and at a little distance from it. Under instructions from Ḥusayn Dōst Khān, Aḥsanu'd-Dīn Khān issued forth with M. Las and experienced men to clear the way of obstruction for M. Datīl about whose arrival to Wālkandahpūr Ḥusayn Dōst Khān had information. When Clive got out of the temple unsuspectingly and went to answer calls of nature the enemies made a night assault. When Clive became a prisoner[2] he

(1) Manaji was a General of the Raja of Tanjore and joined Muḥammad 'Alī with 3,000 horse and 2,000 foot in the beginning of 1752. He took Koviladi from the enemy in the beginning of May and encamped at Chakkilipalayam, that is, Sarkarpalayam. He got for his master from Muḥammad 'Alī a release of *pēshkash* alleged to be outstanding for ten years and the grant of Koviladi and Yalangadu taken from the enemy by Manaji. (Orme, Vol. I, p. 208, and Venkaswami Rao's *The Tanjore Manual*, p. 788.)

(2) Two days after Lawrence's arrival at Trichinopoly, an attempt was made to attack Chanda Sahib's camp by night. This attempt, though not successful, increased the nervousness of M. Law, the French commander, who had already fallen into a state of indecision and was afraid of being beaten. He insisted upon retreating to the island of Srirangam so that he might have the Kaveri between him and the

thought that the position was entirely hopeless. But he spoke in French, gave out that he was a Frenchman kept as

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enemy. Clive proposed that Lawrence should be in charge of a part of the army south of the Kaveri, while he himself should take a post north of the Coleroon. This decision was taken on April 15, 1752. Clive set out on the same day with 400 Europeans, 1,200 sepoys and 3,000 horse and established himself at Samayavaram. He captured from the French the fort of Lalgudi which contained a large quantity of grain and the loss of which seriously affected the position of M. Law. But Clive was in danger of an attack by M. Law from Srirangam and by the force coming from Pondicherry under D'Auteuil. Lawrence did not send him additional reinforcements across the river; but Clive heard that the French party was conveying 7 lacs of rupees and had reached Uttatur. He made a sudden march on the night of April 26; but as the French had withdrawn having heard of his coming, he returned hot-foot to Samayavaram lest M. Law should attack and occupy it in his absence. While Clive was supposed to be absent from his camp, M. Law arranged to surprise it. He however made the attempt with a very small party of about 80 Europeans, half of whom were English deserters. They reached Samayavaram after Clive had returned to it and pretended that they had been sent by Lawrence to reinforce Clive. Having thus deceived the sentinels, they continued their march through a part of the Mahratta camp and were only challenged near a choultry to the north of the pagoda. In this choultry Clive lay asleep. The enemy put a volley of fire in each place and immediately entered the pagoda. Clive started out of his sleep, and ran to the upper pagoda where the greater number of his Europeans were quartered. He ordered them to arm themselves, returned to the choultry and found the sepoys firing at random. He mistook the enemy troops for his own, ordered them to cease firing and went alone amongst them. When he was discovered, he told the French soldiers with great presence of mind that he had come to make terms with them and if any resistance was made, they would be put to the sword by his whole army which surrounded the pagoda. This made such an impression that Clive secured easily the submission of the French. He however took the precaution to storm the pagoda, because he suspected that the enemy must have been hiding there in large numbers. The next morning, 27th April, Clive himself narrowly escaped the shot aimed at him by an officer, one of the English deserters in the ranks of the enemy. The ball missed Clive by a little margin but went through the bodies of the sergeants on whom he was leaning, and they were mortally wounded. The enemy contrived to escape *from the camp as easily as they had entered it*, but

a prisoner in the English army, that Clive was sleeping soundly inside the temple and thus saved himself from the hand of destruction. Immediately the party of the French, put faith in his deceitful speech, set him free and rushed into the temple in search of him whom they had allowed to fly away from their hands. Finding the arrow of his plan on the target of his object, Clive suddenly closed the door of the temple. Then by the beat of drums, he got his soldiers and other men armed for war and surrounded the walls of the temple. The enemies understood his deceit and attacked the besieging force in order to liberate their own army which was duped and confined inside the temple. Since Clive had only a small army, he found it difficult to hold his own and was stupefied to repel the vagabond enemy. At this juncture Muḥammad Abrār Khān along with other *sardārs* drew up the forces in array, marched out from Samīwāram and attacked the enemy from behind. Throughout night the fight was hot, and just at dawn they noticed that the garment of darkness of the opposition of the wicked enemy was torn by means of the hand of the radiant sun of their victory. That is, they made their army triumphant while they slaughtered the forces of Aḥsanu'd-Dīn Khān, made them run away and took possession of their implements. Of the army of M. Las some became prisoners of Clive in the temple of Samīwāram while some fled in confusion towards Srirang following the way of their *sardār*.

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they were pursued by Yūnus Khān and the Mahratta troops who fired and injured many of them. The escape of Clive from being shot in the early morning is held to be unbelievable. See *Orme*, Vol. I, pp. 222-6; Sir John Malcolm; *Life of Clive*, Vol. I, p. 116 and Hill's *Orme Collection*, India Office, page 273.

The arrival of M Datīl to Wālkandahpūr; Hazrat-i-Aʿlā dispatches the army which gained victory on the maydān of Samīwāram to punish him; the imprisonment of M. Datīl and the seizure of all the equipments

Ḥazrat-i-Aʿlā learnt through the letters of the chroniclers, the night attack of Ahsanu'd-Dīn Khān and M Las upon the army of the *sarkār* at Samīwāram, the defeat of the enemies on account of the sword play of the victorious army, the success of the glorious Muhammad Abrār Khān, the imprisonment of

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(1) After the incident at Samayavaram, Clive urged Lawrence to move his troops into the island of Srirangam, so that he could come to his assistance, should M Law cross the Coleroon But Lawrence refused to leave his position saying that M. Law would cross the Kaveri from the island and escape unchecked to Karikal He however detached a party under Dalton to attack D'Auteuil who had retreated to Uttatur Dalton encountered the French near Uttatur and attacked them with such vigour that the latter abandoned the fort, Dalton took immediate possession of it. Lawrence then recalled Dalton, but as the Coleroon was in floods, Dalton left his troops under the command of Clive for the siege of Bikshandarkoil which was then the only post held by the French on the northern bank of the Coleroon Clive took Bikshandarkoil on May 20th, and for this service Muḥammad Ali bestowed on him the title of Thābit Jang Bahādur. Bikshandarkoil was a fortified pagoda on the northern bank of the Coleroon, one mile to the east of Srirangam After it was captured, Clive left a strong garrison and set out on the 27th of May to meet D'Auteuil's force. He also took precautions to conceal his plan from M Law. Clive hid himself for some time within the fort of Uttatur, hoping that D'Auteuil would come unsuspectingly near that place D'Auteuil marched from Volkondah and reached as far as the 7th mile from Uttatur. But on account of some rumour or suspicion, he returned in great haste to Volkondah. Clive set out in pursuit of him and ordered the Mahrattas to harass him, but D'Auteuil retreated forming his men in a column and with two field-pieces in front. When he drew up his forces between the mud wall of the *pettah* and the river Vellar he was attacked by a large body of English sepoys and the Mahrattas. D'Auteuil retired into the *pettah*, but its governor who had been won over to the English side shut up the gates. In spite of this, the French contrived to get into the fort in an unguarded part, when the governor threatened to fire. In these circumstances D'Auteuil agreed to

a group of the French in the fort of the temple mentioned above owing to the plans of Clive. He then sent orders in succession directing Muḥammad Abrār Khān, Clive and other *sardārs* to march with their victorious army towards Wālkandahpūr to punish and devastate the army of the French under the command of M. Datīl, to plunder his implements, to avert the confusion and dispersion of the subjects of the kingdom caused by his arrival, and to send with great care to his presence the prisoners captured at Samīwāram. In obedience to the order they sent the prisoners to Nattharnagar and hastened to drive away the enemy who had encamped at a distance of twelve *kurōh*. As becoming their bravery they tried with such vehemence and sword play that they overcame the enemy. That is, M. Datīl did not find strength to be firm and took refuge in the fort of Ranjangadh situated at a distance of not more than one *kurōh*. Finally on account of the pursuit of the victorious army which continued to attack, the forces of the enemy were either afflicted with death or captured or became scattered and consequently M. Datīl tore his garment of steadiness. He lost his power and strength. He was imprisoned with his one thousand and two hundred soldiers, the remnant after slaughter or dispersion. Provisions, cannon and other implements of war fell into the hands of the army of the *sarkār*. In that bustle and conflict the fort of Ranjangadh also was subjugated by the friends of Ḥaẓrat-i-A'lā. The keeper of that fort agreed to submit cash, expressed his weakness, and thus sought pardon for his wrongs. Considering the delicate circumstances Ḥaẓrat-i-A'lā thought it advisable to excuse him for his fault and in his great liberality allowed him to continue as a keeper of the fort and enjoy his *jāgīr*. Then he ordered that

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surrender with his force of 100 Europeans, 400 sepoys and 340 horse. The treasure was mostly hidden away and only a small part of it was taken possession of by the English.

M. Datīl along with other prisoners should be brought to his presence under strict vigilance.

The siege and the capture of the temple of Pachāndār-kūdī (Bikshandarkoil) situated on the bank of the river Coleroon.

After victory in the battle-fields of Wālkandahpūr and Ranjangadh, and after M. Datīl and other prisoners and looted implements were dispatched to Natthamagar in obedience to the orders of the Nawwāb, the army bearing victorious banners returned to its previous encampment.

Ḥaẓrat-i-A'lā, the king with prudence and the sovereign of an enlightened mind, issued a command to that army as follows. "What is the use of remaining idle at Samīwāram at present? Counting this as a fortunate circumstance, it is necessary to be employed at this juncture. That is, efforts should be made to subjugate the fort of Pachāndārkūdī situated on the way to Phulcheri, at a distance of not more than the width of the river Coleroon from Srirang, the halting place of the enemy, and well-equipped with provisions and implements of war. After subjugating Pachāndārkūdī the army may return to Samīwāram."

Accordingly the sea of the army with victorious waves rolled forth against the solid and strong temple which was like a small fort. They stormed it by the discharge of cannon. On the third day by the grace of the Omnipotent Conqueror, their work was finished to such an extent that the door was opened by the key of victory The equipments and the treasures stored there were conveyed to Natthamagar. The enemy and his supporters despaired of their purpose, and the hope of help from Phulcheri became vain.

The straitened condition of the besieged at Srirang on account of the severity of the siege; Ḥaẓrat-i-Aʿlā plants the banner of mercy in his own camp; the arrival of the men from the army of the besieged; M. Las seeks quarter at the instance of Ḥusayn Dōst K͟hān; the refusal; the K͟hān goes to Manaji Rao, the chief of Tanjore, and seeks refuge.

The temple of Pachāndārkūdī was subjugated by the brave soldiers; the condition of the besieged at Srirang was rendered greatly miserable, because of the blocking up of the roads through which provisions could come, and of their being made the target for the cannon balls from the temple. The lamentations of the hungered reached the heavens. Ḥaẓrat-i-Aʿlā took pity on them and passed the divine decree that the banner of peace be hoisted in the victorious camp and a proclamation be issued as follows:

"Whosoever comes forth from the fort of Srirang with any amount of goods under the banner will find safety from all dangers. Implements of war, it is understood, belong to the *sarkār*."

This piece of good news brought fresh life into the world, and people in all calmness of mind hastened under the protecting shade of the powerful king. Considering the diminution of his army in which one in hundred remained, and conjecturing the state of the remaining forces which presented the appearance of an autumn season, Ḥusayn Dōst K͟hān grew thoughtful, and then caused a letter seeking quarter to be written by M. Las to Ḥaẓrat-i-Aʿlā and anxiously looked forward for a reply.

The petition of M. Las[1] to Ḥaẓrat-i-A'lā

"We have been, till now, fighting against fate, on account of misunderstanding and mistaken notions. In fact we were trying to measure the pride of our fist by useless endeavours and futile labours. Now keeping aside all the cannon, other implements of war, and the whole baggage and valuables scattered in the two temples of Jhamgīr and Srirang, setting aside the work on our hands and abandoning all tumultuous and useless ideas from our minds, we hope for kindness from one possessing compassion and mercy, generosity and benevolence; we await permission that there will be security, and no kind of opposition on our way or impediment for our rejoining the banner of the French. We shall go out of the fort with our friends and companions and take our way to Phulcheri. In future we shall not trespass on other grounds beyond the field of trade, and shall maintain the relationship of subjects to the *sarkār.*"

The reply from Ḥaẓrat-i-A'lā

"Your letter reached me and the contents are clear. The desire for release is out of place after all these dishonest deeds. In fact every one from the *sardār* down to the sepoy is in

(1) After the capture of Bikshandarkoil by Clive and Koviladi by Lawrence, M. Law was completely shut in. But curiously enough, he made no attempt to cross the Kaveri, and to prevent Clive and Dalton coming to the rescue; but he distrusted Chanda Sahib's troops and also seemed to have lost all energy and will. Many of Chanda Sahib's sepoys deserted him after D'Auteuil's surrender at Volkondah. Thus M. Law was brought to the last stage of desperation. He offered to give up half his heavy guns and march off to Pondicherry; but Muḥammad Ali insisted that he must surrender at discretion. On June 13, M. Law had obtained an interview with Lawrence who promised to release the officers with their arms and baggage on parole; next morning an English detachment marched into the pagoda and the French laid down their arms. The surrender of M. Law was of great importance.

our fetters. In these circumstances remove from your head the idea to pull down the banner, to continue the mischiefs of the men of depraved thoughts and to reach your seditious town; voluntarily entrust yourselves as prisoners. Else inevitable slaughter will overtake you all, and those who escape it will be forcibly and compulsorily put in confinement."

When this fitting reply safely reached the enemy, Ḥusayn Dōst Khān grew desperate inasmuch as he had neither the opportunity to take rest nor the strength to run away. He found it hard either to be confined in the temple in a distressed condition or to come out. He summoned his well-wishing nobles and his loyal ministers and placed before them with a palpitating heart the following facts in the hope of getting relief:

"The enemy is superior, I am weak. Neither have I the strength to hold this fort nor the courage to march out with the army and vigorously fight the enemy face to face. My brain is all in a whirl as regards plans and expediency. So find out a way that I may reach Phulcheri; I shall then have no anxiety. On the other hand I shall have the means to attack Trichinopoly with a large army. Therefore it strikes my mind that I should get out of this fort changing my manner and dress and take the way to Karikal a town belonging to Phulcheri. Since the passage for it lies through the boundary of Tanjore I shall seek help from Manaji Rao[1] the ruler of that kingdom."

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(1) Wilks wrote that M. Law was "justified by the fairest considerations of the natural interests committed to his charge, in recommending Chanda Sahib to incur any risk, rather than surrender to the English; and he unhappily trusted to the desperate faith of a Mahratta". According to Orme, Chanda Sahib knew that the Tanjore general Manaji was at open variance with the prime minister to the king of Tanjore and that Manaji might be inclined to safeguard him, following only his personal interests. Manaji received the overture with so much interest and seeming compliance, that both M. Law and Chanda Sahib thought that they had gained him over to their side. When M. Law demanded a hostage, the Tanjorean

Ahsanu'd-Dīn-Khān did not approve of this view He observed "It is a useless plan, nothing will come out of it, for the Raja of Tanjore had suffered greatly at our hands, while he found much kindness from our enemy No hope can be entertained, for he is among our enemies The proper procedure would be not to give any form of expression to grief at the dispersal of the army and its reaching the banner of the enemy The army which is present here and on which reliance could be placed, and the French forces must be drawn up in array, cannon must be placed in front of them Then we must boldly come out of this temple and march to Karikal repelling opposition"

M Las who was one of those present did not like this procedure He put forward the following plan [1]

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answered that a hostage would be no real check on intended treachery, and that by giving one, the secret would be divulged and the escape rendered impracticable Then he took an oath on his sabre and poniard, that he would send away Chanda Sahib with an escort of horse to Karikal As soon as the victim entered his quarters, Manaji had him imprisoned in a tent The next morning, 12th June, there was a conference in Major Lawrence's tent between the Major, Muhammad Ali, Manaji and the Mysore general, when the proposal that the English should have the custody of the prisoner, was violently opposed by the other three parties Then they broke up without coming to any resolution. On the morning when M Law surrendered at Srirangam, he had a conference with Lawrence that convinced him that the English were resolved not to interfere any further in the dispute Manaji saw no method of saving the situation except by putting an end to the life of his prisoner. (*Orme*, Vol I, pages 236-42.)

Some writers are of the opinion that Lawrence had it in his power to save Chanda Sahib but did connive at the death of the unfortunate man. See Malleson, *History of the French in India*, p. 321.

(1) M. Law advised Chanda Sahib to submit to the Tanjore general. The details are given in a declaration by M. Law and forwarded by Dupleix to the English. Dodwell says that this narrative is true, as it is supported by subsequent happenings.

"When we encamped on the *maydān* with a body of sound and healthy men, we found ourselves unable to oppose the enemy and took refuge in the fort. Comparing our present state with the then condition we are powerless. How can we engage ourselves in the field of battle? My thoughts point out this way, that is, however much the zamindar of Tanjore has been aggrieved by us, still he has relationship with the French because his frontier meets that of the French. Most probably he may show kindness towards us. It is proper that we keep with him Ḥusayn Dōst Khān as a security on behalf of the French, and let him send the Khān to Phulcheri by whatever means he thinks best."

When Aḥsanu'd-Dīn Khān saw that his counsel was not agreeable to the members of the council, he concluded his speech with the following observation: "The skirt of fate is undefiled by the dust of deliberation."

One Rajput, Hari Singh by name, and one of the trustworthy friends of Ḥusayn Dōst Khān shrugged his shoulders at the acceptance of the suggestions of M. Las and addressed his master thus: "Do not at all entertain any hope of generosity from the zamindar of Tanjore who is in league with your enemy. If you seek relief, extricate your head from this snare of destruction in the following manner: Take some of my trusted men, and get upon my swift-paced horse, which, fleet as the wind, can cover a distance of fifty *kurōh* in a day; then you can reach Karikal in one night."

When this suggestion also did not find its approval from any one, one of the leaders of the highway robbers known as Kallars, a rude community, who boasted himself as second to none among those besieged, interfered unnecessarily in the deliberations of the councillors, and spoke in the following manner: "By means of my boat I can cross the river Coleroon in one night and convey you safely to your destination."

But there was ready the retribution for the oath taken on the praiseworthy and the holy Qurān, in the course of his dealings with the Rani of Trichinopoly; the retaliation for the blood, unjustly shed, of Nawwāb Sirāju'd-Dawla Anwaru'd-Dīn Khān Bahādur, the amīr of the Carnatic, and for the murder of Nawwāb Nāṣir Jang Shahīd, the wazīr and the *nāẓim* of the Deccan (may Allāh's mercy be on them). Hence the polish of any plan failed to remove the rust in the mirror of forgetfulness.

Finally, Ḥusayn Dōst Khān preferred the advice of M. Las and sent his vakils, Gobinath the Hindu and Dāwūd Khān the Afghān, to Manaji Rao. He listened to the oral news apparently with great concern, and gave an affirmative reply. When the vakils returned and informed Ḥusayn Dōst Khān, he hastened with them towards Manaji Rao during night time accompanied by M. Las, and Aḥsanu'd-Dīn Khān. Manaji Rao came out of the encampment to receive them. He met them, and to all appearances consoled them in all ways. M. Las placed the hand of Ḥusayn Dōst Khān on that of Manaji Rao and said, "Know that Ḥusayn Dōst Khān is the security for the French. Convey him with great care to Phulcheri." Manaji Rao consented and caused the guest to alight at the *sarāy* of Dalwāy-mandaf where Ḥusayn Dōst Khān had formerly taken an oath on the word of Allāh in the presence of the Rani of Trichinopoly. Manaji Rao kept secret guard over him.

Ḥazrat-i-A'lā demands Ḥusayn Dōst Khān from Manaji Rao; his acceptance to do so; his refusal to yield to the desire of Karāchūrī Nand Raj and Murari Rao in respect of the Khān, and their readiness to fight; Manaji Rao murders Ḥusayn Dōst Khān and flees towards Tanjore.

Those who are prisoners of the army of calamity of time and are kept in confinement by the army of the misfortune of the faithless will sell away their faith in exchange for the cash of false motives and useless desires, without considering the consequences. They try to ravage others in seeking their own profit. They do not understand that the Just and the Perfect Lord is powerful, and is watching (them) and that the digger of wells on the road will himself find wells on his own way. They do not discern that with the passing of time the sword of retribution for their deeds is over their heads. It behoves the intelligent that they have before them thoughts of the Creator in their dealings with His creations; so that they may not be caught in the net of punishment. In the confusion and uproar of this world he must discard for others whatever he does not like for himself, so that he may not suffer the torment of repentance. He must bear in mind the punishment for treachery and the reward for trustworthiness are lying in wait for the appointed time, nay, he must know that they are ever present. Every work has its recompense, and every action its requital. The face of this image and the explanation of this discourse is as follows:

Manaji Rao took Ḥusayn Dōst Khān under his protection and proclaimed next morning that the Khān was flying towards Phulcheri, and that he made him a prisoner. As soon as Ḥazrat-i-A'lā heard this news, he rejoiced over it and offered thanks to the Helper of his prosperity. Then he got into his palanquin and started towards the camp of Manaji Rao to get possession of the prisoner. On hearing that the Nawwāb himself was

coming, Manaji Rao got out of his camp and went forward to receive him He had the honour of meeting the Nawwāb on the bank of the river Kaveri near the fort of Nattharnagar. The Nawwāb caused the palanquin to be set down, spread on the ground the ordinary small carpet which was with him and asked Manaji Rao to sit on it while he himself sat in the palanquin itself Then he granted the honour of conveying to Manaji Rao the gracious idea in his mind In return for this service the Nawwāb ennobled him with the grant of the *jagīr* of Koiladi under Nattharnagar in accordance with the long-timed request of Manaji Rao, and the reduction of the annual *pēshkash* due from Tanjore The prosperous and powerful Nawwāb returned then to the fort Desiring to get possession of Husayn Dōst Khān, both Karāchūri Nand Raj and Murari Rao drew up their forces in array and were ready for war Manaji Rao was greatly worried on this account and resolved to murder the prisoner

Husayn Dōst Khān had remained three nights and two days as the guest of Manaji Rao. On Wednesday the first of the month of Sha'bān the honoured of the year 1165 A.H. he had his shave and bath and sent for food He contented himself with two or three morsels and observed that he did not relish the taste At noon Manaji Rao called out one of his sepoys, a *sayyid*, Mīr Muzaffar Alī by name and whispered into his ear the command to kill the prisoner. He replied in a louder tone as follows. "Though it is not possible for me during the time of war to disobey the commands of my master to cut the head of my son or brother, yet to kill one who has taken refuge is nothing but injustice and sheer cruelty I will not draw my sword" After this two other men one 'Āshūr Beg by name, and another a Rajput went with the order of Manaji Rao to the *sarāy* and found the prisoner alone 'Āshūr Beg exclaimed in the tone of *'Izrā'īl*, Nawwāb Ṣāhib! Pronounce the *kalima ṭayyib*. We

come seeking your head, get ready by the pleasure of Allāh." Immediately on listening to this call, Ḥusayn Dōst Khān drew out his dagger and ran on him. While he caught 'Āshūr Bēg, the Rajput thrust his dagger from one side and laid open his flank. The prisoner rolled on the ground with a loud noise. Immediately 'Āshūr Bēg wounded him with the dagger and cut off his head with a sharp poniard. Thus he marked his face with the blood and became notorious as the murderer.

When the head was brought before Manaji Rao he entrusted it to a camel-rider with the command to carry it to Ḥaẓrat-i-A'lā. The camel-rider excused himself saying, "How could I take it without its being bound in a towel." One of the *faqīrs* who used to stay with the army, gave his towel and the camel-rider placed the head on it. As soon as he carried it off another *faqīr* addressed thus "O thou the Generous! your head, dead or alive, is ever held high." The camel-rider took the head to the fort, while Manaji Rao with his army turned his face towards Tanjore. In brief, the head was hung at the gate of the fort according to the command of Ḥaẓrat-i-A'lā. Then they took it to Karāchūrī Nand Raj and Murari Rao. The *pīrs* of the *Imāmiyya* sect furnished and shrouded the body in a fitting manner and in accordance with the manner of the *shi'as*, and temporarily interred it in the *dargāh* of Ḥaẓrat Natthar Walī (may Allāh purify his resting place) till the head, which was sent by Nand Raj as far as Delhi, was brought back. On its arrival they opened the grave and the coffin but did not find any trace of the body. So, being helpless they buried the head without the body. Wise men untie the knot of this secret by means of the nail of conjecture. That is, since he had love for the family of the Prophet of Allāh (may Allāh's peace be on him) and since an unbeliever made him a martyr by means of his deceitful sword it was no wonder that his body had migrated in conformity with the beliefs of the *Imāmiyya* sect. It was probable that his head also might

have joined his body.[1] Knowledge of these facts lies with Allāh.

'Abdu'l Hādī who had gone from the court of the Nawwāb to Dewnampattan for the purpose of bringing the English forces, gave out on that day the following verses extempore, out of happiness.

"Anwaru'd-Dīn K͟hān did not sheathe his sword smeared with blood till two years after the battle that took place during the time of Nāṣir Jang."

In short, after these events the temples of Srirang and Jhamgīr were captured. The *sardārs* of the army, the nobles and members of the Nāiṯ community were made prisoners; the implements looted from the enemy were divided among the army of the *sarkār*. The French were kept in confinement in the fort of Nattharnagar. Of the other prisoners some were kept as servants while others were set free according to their desire.

Ḥaẓrat-i-A'lā dispatches an 'arẓdās͟ht and nad͟hr to Aḥmad S͟hāh Pāds͟hāh and a letter to Nawwāb Āṣafu'd-Dawla G͟hāzīu'd-Dīn K͟hān Bahādur Fīrōz Jang; arranges an assembly of councillors to consider the subjugation of the hereditary kingdom and other forts, to expel the French from the kingdom of the Carnatic and to devise plans to capture the fort of Phulcheri.

After putting an end to the disturbance caused by Ḥusayn Dōst K͟hān, and capturing the temples of Srirang and Jhamgīr along with the goods and the implements of the slain which were divided among the *sardārs* of the victorious army, and after taking as prisoners M. Las, nobles of the Nāiṯ community

(1) Wilks says "It is a fact of public notoriety that Chanda Sahib's head was immediately sent to that personage, (Muḥammad 'Alī) and after being subjected to unmanly insult, was delivered to Nunjeraj and by him sent to Seringapatam; where it was suspended in a *cheenka* (open net of small rope, Tamil [illegible]) over the southern or Mysore gate, to be gazed at by the multitude during three days as a public trophy of the victories in which the

and others, Ḥaẓrat-i-A'lā sent along with a *nadhr* of 1121 *ash-rafī* an *'ar'ẓdāsht* to Aḥamad Shāh Pādshāh, and a congratulatory letter to Nawwāb Āṣafu'd-Dawla Ghāziu'd-Dīn Khān Bahādur Fīrōz Jang who had been appointed by the Sultan as the Nāẓim of the Deccan and had come to Awrangābād. Then he assembled the nobles and ministers of the kingdom in a council and opened his mouth which exuded like the spring cloud and filled with shining pearls the shell of the ears of those anxious to profit by it.

"Riẓā 'Alī Khān, the son of Ḥusayn Dōst Khān, who is in Phulcheri under the protection of the French is looking forward for an opportunity to cause disturbance. He is kindling the fire of malice in the grate of his heart. Ṣalābat Jang is entertaining the idea of fighting his senior brother, Nawwāb Āṣafu'd-Dawla Ghāziu'd-Dīn Khān Bahādur, with the assistance of the French. So it is incumbent on me that I, according to the order of the Emperor, render help to the Nāẓim of the Deccan in the field of battle. As long as the town of Phulcheri, the source of all mischief, exists, mischief will remain in the land of the Carnatic. Nay, the poison of the snake will infect all the limbs of the kingdom of the Deccan. Hence I have firmly resolved to subdue it, so that all the confusion in the land may be wiped out immediately like a thorn from the foot of the kingdom. On account of this I shall verily assist the Nawwāb Āṣafu'd-Dawla."

The members present unanimously approved the correctness of his views, prostrated on the ground and paid their respects for the sound and valuable opinion. Then the Nawwāb issued strict orders to equip the army and arrange the things necessary for travel. He dispatched General

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troops of Mysore had certainly as yet borne no very distinguished part". (Vol. I, p. 177.)

Orme says that the head of Chanda Sahib was never carried out of the Carnatic.

Lawrence to Chennapattan to bring the English army, cannon, *karnāl* and other implements of warfare, and to get ready warships for preventing help and provisions reaching Phulcheri by sea

Hazrat-i-A'lā arrays his forces for the second time with the idea of subjugating the town of Phulcheri; M. Dupleix writes a letter to Hazrat-i-A'lā who refuses to comply with his requests

After dispatching the *'arzdāsht* to the Pādshāh and the letter to the Wazīr, Ḥaẓrat-i-A'lā attended to the repairs of the fort of Nattharnagar; he, then, arranged the things for the journey, put in order the necessaries for war, collected large stock of provisions, and encouraged the sepoys by increasing their pay according to their desire Then he detached from his own army 6,000 men, and put them under the leadership of Sayyid 'Alī Khān, Khayru'd-Dīn Khān, and Sayyid Nāṣir 'Alī Khān and others to guard the fort along with the English forces He conciliated Karāchūrī Nandraji[1] and Murari Rao by settling the

(1) The Dalavayi Devaraja was unwilling to help Muhammad Ali, but Nanja Raja, his younger brother, was tempted to support his cause by the extravagant promise of the Nawwāb to cede Trichinopoly and all its possessions down to *Cape Comorin. A party of 70 horsemen arrived* at Trichinopoly from Srirangapatam in the beginning of October. The army of Mysore with 4,000 Mahrattas assembled on the frontier of Karur, in the last weeks of December 1751 After the fight at Krishnavaram, the Mysore army numbering, as stated by Orme, 12,000 horse and 8,000 foot including the Mahrattas, reached the plain of Trichinopoly. They had borne only a very small part in the activities which ended with the defeat and death of Chanda Sahib The head of Chanda Sahib was sent as a trophy to Srirangapatam and hung up over the Mysore gate. Then Nanja Raja claimed Trichinopoly under the secret treaty. Muhammad Ali who could not conceal from the English the secret agreement confessed to them that he had never intended to fulfil the promise and evaded Nanja Raja. *As the English had not been consulted in* the negotiations, they were not morally bound to secure the fulfilment of the promise.

Major Lawrence and Clive both reported about the dispute that had arisen between Muhammad Ali and Mysoreans, as the Nawwāb would not give

self like a wave. He dispatched an *ʻarẓdāsht* to Ḥaẓrat-i-Aʻlā conveying apology for his faults and seeking a fresh peace.

The ʻarẓdāsht of M. Dupleix to Ḥaẓrat-i-Aʻlā

"In perfect humility and submission and firm in the edifice of obedience and servitude I submit: May it please your majesty, the powerful and glorious lord, that in the course of one hundred years, the period of our stay for trading in this peaceful land, if any affair was in opposition to the regulations of the authority of the *sarkār* it did not happen because of the French community. A stray incident which happened during these days was due to our union with the unfortunate rebels and it is the cause for our repentance. Considering my solicitations and repentance and hearing the lamentation for quarter which proceeds from my heart, if the exalted master could pardon me for my past sins, and bestow mercy in accordance with the favours of generosity and kindness, I take afresh an oath on the religion of our Prophet, *ʻIsā* (peace be on him) and *Injīl* our holy book, that, in future, I will not associate myself with any mischief-maker in this land. I will be friends with the English and become one with them as brother with brother. I entertain the hope that just as the affairs of the English are made to increase in splendour day by day with the grant of *jāgīrs*, aids, and great favours from the *sarkār*—powerful to subdue the kingdom—the community of the French also would, if they be granted the *jāgīr* of Chenjī[1] bestowed on them by the *Nāẓim* of

(1) M. Dupleix was aware of the critical situation of the French after the surrender of M. Law and the death of Chanda Sahib. Even before these calamities had occurred, he had written to Governor Saunders that he was authorised by Ṣalābat Jang to settle the affairs of the Carnatic by giving Trichinopoly to Muḥammad ʻAlī. Saunders replied that it might be done as Chanda Sahib was dead, but M. Dupleix demanded the release of all the prisoners as a preliminary to negotiations. This was declined because the release of the French prisoners would have restored M. Dupleix to his former military strength. In the meanwhile M. Dupleix was stiffened in his attitude

the Deccan, attain distinction under the generous attention and lordly protection. I hand over other *jāgīrs* to the *sarkār*. Hereafter I will never deviate from the path of humility which is the feature of traders. I belong to the community of *frangs* and I will never go back on my promise. The rules of courtesy do not embolden me to be long-winded; humility does not permit me to be lengthy."

After the contents became evident Ḥaẓrat-i-A'lā said: "Though the acceptance of peace is befitting and agreeable to end the dispute, yet generosity to the treacherous is like enmity towards the trustworthy. 'To do good to the wicked is doing harm to the good.' Besides this, other points demand reflection and need thought.

(1) Riẓā 'Alī Khān under Dupleix' protection is lying in wait with the claim of authority over the Carnatic.

(2) We have friendly relations with Nawwāb Āṣfu'd-Dawla Ghāziu'd-Dīn Khān Bahādur and our acceptance of the request of the French would create a suspicion that we are in league with Ṣalābat Jang. This will cause disturbance in the building of confidence.

(3) It will become evident that we are going against the command of the Sultan enjoining on us to expel the French.

(4) The covenant of M. Dupleix cannot be relied upon, for on a former occasion he wrote a peace treaty seeking reconciliation, but later he joined with Hidāyat Muḥiyyu'd-Dīn Khān and broke the promise.

(5) He claims equality with the English who are our old friends. He also hopes to get the grant of the *jāgīr* of the taluk of Chenjī just like the grant of *jāgīrs* to the English. But my father had enjoined on me to help the English, to promote their interest and to exterminate the French. In these

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by the knowledge that he was to receive reinforcements from Europe; towards the end of July two ships conveying 500 soldiers reached Pondicherry.

circumstances how could the requests of the wicked people be accepted? how could wisdom and intelligence be lost relying on his duplicity?"

Then Ḥaẓrat-i-A'lā called the writer and dictated the following reply.

The farmān of Ḥaẓrat-i-A'lā to M. Dupleix

"Praise be to the Lord in whose court of authority, the refractory Frenchman doffs his hat and brings it to his armpit out of (reverence) to the resplendent sun. All round His *bāzār* the Trader with the goods of the world is the Master of the loss and damage on account of the cheapness of the goods of life and dearness of the cash of death. Undoubtedly He showed us the right path and enabled us to reach our destination, while He caused wicked men to roam about in the streets of error as a punishment for their crooked ways.

The letter dispatched by you conveyed impossible demands, and the knowledge of useless ideas put my mind to wonder. When the conditions of the peace treaty concluded after the battle of Dewnampattan were broken between us on account of your faithlessness, how will men of experience find it possible to agree to a fresh treaty and strengthen the bonds of friendship? With such perfidy the desire for equality with the trustworthy English has no meaning; with such falsehood performance of oath by religion and the holy book cannot attest to your sincerity. Now I have come out from Nattharnagar with this firm resolve and I have arrived on this *maydān* with a definite purpose, that is, until I bring the community of the French under my sword I will not turn my back; until I scatter to the winds the walls of Phulcheri I will not keep back my hand from my activities. This reply will suffice your question."

On learning these contents M. Dupleix was perplexed. Helplessly he tried to prepare for war.

THE FRENCH MARCH UNDER KERJEAN

The battle between M. Karjām (Kerjean) *and the English*[1] *of Dewnampattan; the English major gets wounded; the retreat of his army towards Dewnampattan; Muḥammad Abrār Khān joins the fight; the defeat of the French and their flight towards Bakram* (Vikravandi) *their camping place.*

M. Dupleix, the governor of Phulcheri, lost hope of peace, collected an army which comprised Indians, Abyssinians and *frangs* under the leadership of M. Karjām by name, a *sardār* possessing intelligence and wisdom, and sent them to

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(1) Muḥammad 'Alī left Trichinopoly in charge of his brother-in-law, Khayrud-Dīn Khān, and some English troops under Dalton, and started secretly to join Lawrence. When Lawrence proceeded to Madras, Major Kinneer who wanted to emulate the feats of Clive, resolved to besiege Gingee with the approval of Saunders, but against the advice of Lawrence. Kinneer started with about 200 Europeans and some sepoys, found the assault impossible, suffered severe loss at the hands of a body of French and retreated in haste. This defeat of the English at Vikravandi and the Nawwāb's flight to Tiruvannamalai roused the spirit of M. Dupleix. Lawrence wanted to redeem this misfortune; but Nawwāb Muḥammad 'Alī was in a very bad situation. The sepoys were troubling him for their pay, the English would not advance him sufficient money, and the Mysore agent, Birky Venka Rao, pressed him for the cession of Trichinopoly to his master. In addition to all these there was a misunderstanding between the Nawwāb and his junior brother. In August, two nobles of Muḥammad 'Alī came to Pondicherry with the consent of the English to negotiate with M. Dupleix. But M. Dupleix refused to talk of peace until the French prisoners were released. Then Lawrence marched against the French on August 28th, but they retired to Pondicherry and contented themselves with guarding their forts at Valudavur and Gingee. He then fell back on Bahur. Kerjean, the French Commander, followed him. When he came too close to the English on the morning of September 6th, Lawrence fell upon the French camp and captured the commander. Muḥammad 'Alī was elated by this victory which reduced the French to military inactivity for the next six months. But he wrote another letter to M. Dupleix in smooth words requesting his friendship. M. Dupleix replied pressing his original demand for the release of the prisoners. But Muḥammad 'Alī would not. Only Kerjean who was badly wounded was allowed to return to Pondicherry.

Bakram. On learning this the governor of Dewnampattan raised the banner with the idea to oppose him. He wrote an *ūrzdāsht* to Ḥaẓrat-i-A'lā seeking help from him. After Muḥammad Abrār Khān arrived from Bēlpūr (Villupuram) with his horse, according to the order of the Nawwāb, the English also under the leadership of a brave major marched from Dewnampattan. The parties opposed each other and in the course of battle which lasted from dawn till 9 o'clock in the morning, when each was to the other like the target of the arrow and the axe of enmity, the major was wounded in the left thigh by a gun shot. He was brought out of the battle-field in a palanquin with the support of his friends, while his army retraced their steps from that danger and marched towards the fort of Dewnampattan, their station. On seeing the superiority of the French, Muḥammad Abrār Khān attacked them with his horse, linked himself with the enemy's forces and displayed such a skill of sword play that M. Karjām left many of his men to be slain, and trodden under the foot of the brave soldiers of the *sarkār*, deserted his cannon and heavy implements and ran away towards Phulcheri with his remaining forces. The Khān pursued them as far as Bakram, devastated that place and then returned victoriously to Bēlpūr before the Nawwāb; he attained the great glory of meeting the Nawwāb and won from him high praise.

The letter from Nawwāb Āṣafu'd-Dawla Ghāziu'd-Dīn Khān Bahādur Fīrōz Jang in reply to the letter sent by Ḥaẓrat-i-A'lā; another congratulatory letter from Ṣalābat Jang.

Ḥaẓrat-i-A'lā encamped with his victorious army at Bēlpūr so long in expectation of the arrival of General Lawrence, that in the meanwhile a letter written by Nawwāb Āṣafu'd-Dawla in reply to that of Ḥaẓrat-i-A'lā which was dispatched along with the *ūrzdāsht* sent to the Emperor containing the happy news of

the destruction of the enemy, reached with the following contents and bestowed happiness.

The letter of Nawwāb Āṣafu'd-Dawla to Ḥaẓrat-i-A'lā[1]

"Your letter was received. I am glad to learn your arrangements to put down the enemies. I am encouraged to believe that the Deccan will be purified of mischief that is prevalent now. In these days Ṣalābat Jang, without any regard for brotherhood, got ready to subjugate the Deccan by destroying it on account of the inducement by evil-minded people and of his association with the French. I wish to come very soon to those parts and put down the mischief with your help. You have already subdued rebels in those parts especially those like Ḥusayn Dōst Khān in spite of his power and influence. I request you to punish the French and destroy the port of Phulcheri, which is the source of all mischief and trouble. Thus peace will reign not only in all places of the Deccan but also in the whole of Hindustan."

Before Ḥaẓrat-i-A'lā recovered from the joy he experienced after the receipt of this letter, the following one from Ṣalābat Jang arrived.

The letter of Ṣalābat Jang to Ḥaẓrat-i-A'lā

"The glad news of your continuous success reached me. Ḥusayn Dōst Khān, in spite of his influence and power is killed and the family of *nawāyaṯ* who claimed the *niẓāmat* is also disconcerted. You have put to shame M. Dupleix in all his fights by defeating him, and done great service to Nawwāb Āṣafu'd-Dawla Bahādur. We congratulate you on your success."

Though Nawwāb Ṣalābat Jang Bahādur wrote this formal letter in laudatory terms, yet Ḥaẓrat-i-A'lā knew that he was

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(1) The language of the original Persian being courtly the summary of these letters is given.

a friend of the French. Ḥaẓrat-i-A'lā was allied to Nawwāb Āṣafu'd-Dawla by orders of the Emperor. In these circumstances he did not send an immediate reply to the letter of Nawwāb Ṣalābat Jang Bahādur and postponed it to some other time.

General Lawrence reaches Ḥaẓrat-i-A'lā from Chennapattan; Ḥaẓrat-i-A'lā marches from Bēlpūr towards Phulcheri; the fight; the victorious army captures M. Karjām along with his forces.

After Muḥammad Abrār Khān achieved the victory over M. Karjām, and after the arrival of letters from the Deccan, Ḥaẓrat-i-A'lā busied himself at Bēlpūr with the sports of the field and with the plans for the war, expecting the arrival of General Lawrence. When the latter reached his presence from Chennapattan with an army and implements Ḥaẓrat-i-A'lā started with his victorious army from Bēlpūr and reached Adyākūpam.[1] From there he attacked with ferocity and valour M. Karjām who started out from Phulcheri for the second time with a large army of the French, Alīmān, Zangbār, and Indian soldiers, and had his ill-starred camp at Bakram. On the morning of the 26th of Shawwāl the honoured of the year 1165 A.H. Ḥaẓrat-i-A'lā drew up his army in battle array and began the fight. In spite of the heavy discharge of the guns by a large section of the French forces and of the vehemence and violence of assault from such a proud enemy, Ḥaẓrat-i-A'lā, because of his experience in war, severe chase in the field of battle, courageous sword play of his soldiers, and his own immediate presence, saw in a period of three hours happy success for himself and disgrace for the wicked enemy. In the heat of battle M. Karjām was wounded by a musket and could not maintain himself in the field. His army were slain, imprisoned, wounded or made to flee. Unlike other *sardārs* who

(1) Ariyankuppam in the environs of Pondicherry.

were captured and imprisoned, M. Karjām, who lay in a miserable condition on account of the wound, found his liberty on the recommendation of General Lawrence and the order of Ḥaẓrat-i-A'lā, and returned to Phulcheri. On account of this, he is, till now, grateful and thankful to Ḥaẓrat-i-A'lā possessing generosity and kindness. The Indian sepoys who were in his company were set at liberty by the order of Ḥaẓrat-i-A'lā after they gave in writing their consent to separate from the French community. The looted goods and implements were divided among the victorious army. Then Ḥaẓrat-i-A'lā set out with his whole army to subdue the forts under the control of the French and in the power of the Nawāyat, the helpers of the French, and the near relations of Ḥusayn Dōst Khān.

The subjugation of the forts belonging to the French, and their allies; the settlement of the affairs of the qil'adār of Wandwāsī.

When Karjām the *sardār* of the army at Bakram was wounded, and his army imprisoned or dispersed, M. Dupleix was frightened. He was unable to pursue his crooked ways, and so entered the hole of his fort, like a crab at sight of a jackal, and shut himself up within it. Ḥaẓrat-i-A'lā reviewed his own situation, did not engage himself in laying siege to the above fort, but turned his attention to subdue other forts in the possession of the enemy and his allies. He dispatched Clive and his army, and Mīr Manṣūr 'Alī Khān commander of his own forces, to subjugate the forts situated on the coast of the sea. He sent an order to Mīr Madīna 'Alī Khān, the *nā'ib* of the *ṣūba* of Arcot, to send provisions and other requisites of the army, and help Mīr Manṣūr 'Alī Khān and Clive, to get ready a proper army with necessary equipments to subdue the *ṣūba* of Nellore which was under the control of Muḥammad Kamāl, whose account, if God willing, will be detailed in the forthcoming pages, to collect and send

to his presence the *pēshkash*, which was in arrears for years owing to the disorder in the land, from the zamindars and the *mālguzārs*, like the *pālayagārs* of Kalastri, Venkatagiri, Bamrāj (Bommaraj), Māčharla, and others, and (finally) to keep in view the subjugation of Sātgadh and other forts and districts. After dispatching the army and the orders Ḥaẓrat-i-A'lā marched with his own detachments towards Chenjī and closed the doors of comfort against those besieged in that fort. Mīr Manṣūr Alī Khān and Clive exerted themselves in the work appointed to them and by the grace of the One Great Opener they opened, that is, they brought under the control of the Nawwāb, one after another Sa'ādatbandar[1], Chingleput[2] and other places which had been under the authority of the French and their allies. The good endeavours of Mīr Madīna Alī Khān, the *nā'ib* of the *ṣūba* of Arcot, brightened the mirror of administration with the polish of success and subjugation of all the districts and places, and the collection of *pēshkash*. Thus he won the ball of bravery of his times. The *sardārs* commanding the detachment

(1) Covelong known as Saādatbandar was situated about 20 miles south of Madras. It was built by Anwarud-Dīn Khān near a fort that belonged to the Ostend Company. The fort had no ditch, but was protected by a strong wall flanked by round towers on which were mounted 30 pieces of cannon. It was garrisoned by 50 Europeans and 300 sepoys. The French got possession of it in the beginning of 1750 by a trick.

There was hard fighting at Covelong from the 16th to 19th of September, 1752. In the first attack the garrison at Covelong opened fire upon the troops of Clive and forced them to flee beyond the back-water, and they had to be brought back by Clive. After hard fighting for four days the fort came into the possession of the English while St. Germain who had advanced from Chingleput not knowing that the fort had surrendered to the English, came close to it and was fired upon and forced to fly. For details regarding Clive's attack of Chingleput, see the *Diary of Ananda Ranga Pillai*, Vol. VIII and Sir George Forrest's *Life of Lord Clive*, Vol. I, pp. 214-215.

(2) Chingleput was reputed to be a very strong fort which was surrounded by a continuous swamp of rice fields and a large lake. The garrison consisted of 40 Europeans and 500 sepoys and the fort had 15 pieces of cannon. The French took possession of it in 1751.

of Ḥaẓrat-i-A'lā raised aloft the banner of valour to subjugate the adjoining forts like Karangal (Karunguzhi?) and others. The powerful and glorious Nawwāb first opened the door of the fort of Chenjī with the key of eternal success; then he turned his attention to subjugate the fort of Wandwāsī. Muḥammad Taqī 'Alī Khān, its *qil'adār*, the brother-in-law of the Nawwāb Ṣafdar 'Alī Khān Shahīd, had many wives and children. The chronicler of these events will open the tongue of the pen to narrate the history of that *qil'adār* as follows:

An account of Muḥammad Taqī 'Alī Khān, the qil'adār of Wandwāsī, his numerous wives and children.

Nawwāb Ṣafdar 'Alī Khān Shahīd who could not eat more than two or four morsels of food was on the look-out for a remedy for his poor appetite; while Taqī 'Alī Khān was making enquiries from every one about the medicine for increasing his virility which was almost extinct. So Nawwāb Ṣafdar 'Alī Khān was searching after the *bayrāgis* whom he had heard of as the curers of this disease, and he used to treat them with great courtesy and kindess. One day he happened to meet one of them whom he importuned to help him to realise his object. The *bayrāgi* gave him two kinds of ash-coloured elixir, one for increasing the appetite, the other for virility, folded in two separate pieces of paper, on each of which he wrote their property, along with directions for use, as well as cautions to be observed. Ṣafdar 'Alī Khān Shahīd kept those powders under the pillow even as he had received them. Muḥammad Taqī 'Alī Khān happened to call on him the very day. Since he had intimacy with Nawwāb Ṣafdar 'Alī Khān Shahīd, he slept, according to his habit, in the Nawwāb's cot. When he woke up he saw underneath the pillow the two powders with descriptions. From the name on the paper, he at once recognised the medicine he needed. However much he sought it from Nawwāb Ṣafdar 'Alī Khān Shahīd,

tion, while the disobedient found disgrace. As for your affection and sincerity there is no doubt. Still for apparent reasons it is necessary that you should pay the usual *pēshkash* and follow the straight path so that the tongues of men be closed outwardly, and false ideas entertained by the public may be removed. Else it is not known what troubles are in store and what dangers may happen. It is the duty of friendship to give no room for complaint."

On seeing this letter sent by Ḥaẓrat-i-A'lā, Muḥammad Taqī 'Alī Khān wrote the following reply:

The 'arẓdāsht of the Khān in reply to the farmān of Ḥaẓrat-i-A'lā.

"After fulfilling the necessary obeisance due to the master I submit my petition in great obedience. Your Majesty's order which was full of kindness reached this obedient servant. This place has reached the rank of heaven by the arrival of your army. It is impossible to express my thanks for this favour. The payment of *pēshkash* is necessarily a mark of obedience, and the deviation of Ḥusayn Dōst Khān from this path did not bring him to the *manzil* of his object; the French were made to roam about in the *maydān* of disgrace. But this obedient servant is always used to obey the *nāẓims* of the Carnatic in all points, from the very beginning of his gaining control over this area, but till now he has never paid any *pēshkash*. My sense of honour does not permit me to choose a new line of conduct. If you condescend to bestow honour on this servant, kindly accept the hospitality I can afford. If you desire money, turn your attention towards other treasures. I have not got the strength to gird up loins against the army of the *sarkār*, but I am compelled to do so."

Ḥaẓrat-i-A'lā understood from the contents of his letter the source of enmity, commissioned his victorious army to lay

siege to Wandwāsī,[1] the fort of Muhammad Taqī 'Alī Khān and reduced him to such straits that he reflected on the consequence of his independence, sent through *ulamās* money as a penalty for his disobedience, and sought pardon. Hazrat-i-A'lā took pity on him, excused him and permitted him to continue in his position. Thus Ḥazrat-i-A'lā, for the time being, protected him from the drawn sword, which was about to fall on his head, and put it on the throat of the guards at the fort of Tiruwati,[2] it was subjugated by the force of bravery and the strength of the powerful hand. The fort keepers, who were French men and were exhibiting great pride on account of excessive implements of war and the strength of the fort, were slain. Those who escaped the sword, were made to suffer the hardships of imprisonment. Since Ḥazrat-i-A'lā found the climate of that place suitable to his gracious health, he fixed his glorious and powerful banner with a view to give rest to his army. Muhammad Taqī 'Alī Khan whose fate was to suffer, delayed to pay the three-fourths of the covenanted sum, forgetting the might of the life-giver, and again began to exhibit enmity and follow evil ways. Next year he was expelled from his *jāgīr* and the fort as a punishment for his misbehaviour. He was made a prisoner and sent to jail at Nattharnagar.

(1) Muḥammad Alī had planned to march to Arcot after making another attempt on Gingee and demanding from Taqī Ṣāḥib of Wandewash arrears of tribute. In October 1752 the fort was attacked by Major Lawrence and the Nawwāb's troops and could have been easily reduced, but the Nawwab was badly in need of money, he accepted the offer of Taqī Ṣāḥib to pay a ransom. A small accident produced brisk firing for some time between the English and the garrison in the fort. But the mistake was explained, the troops were recalled, and Taqī Ṣāḥib paid down three lacs of rupees the same day.

(2) Major Lawrence returned from Wandewash to Tiruwati about the 10th of November, but the troops could not be cantoned there on account of the heavy monsoon, and had to retire from that place to Fort St. David.

The rebellion of Karāchūrī Nandraj and Murari Rao at the instigation of the French, and their union with Riẓā Alī Khān and M. Dupleix, the Governor of Phulcheri.

With his appointment as the *nāẓim* of the Deccan, Nawwāb Āṣafu'd-Dawla Ghāziu'd-Dīn Khān Bahādur Fīrōz Jang started from Shājahānābād and reached Awrangābād[1] in glory. All the nobles of the Deccan, without any exception, paid him homage. Ṣalābat Jang, his younger brother, occupied the throne of the Deccan with the help of the French. Deceived by the attachment for a wicked and ill-bred woman, a mean widow, an abominable creature full of tricks, the murderer of a son and destroyer of the husband, and tempted by the wicked and faithless world full of fraud, Ṣalābat Jang resolved to kill his brother who was as dear to him as his life. He sent his own mother to Awrangābād under the pretext of welcoming him, entrusting to her the burden entertained in his sinful mind. This deceitful woman reached that place, and gave out to the Nawwāb Āṣafu'd-Dawla that her separation from her own son (Ṣalābat Jang) was caused by

(1) Ghāziu'd-Dīn Khān reached Burhanpur towards the end of August 1752 accompanied by Malhar Rao Holkar and a few Mahratta *sardārs*. He reached Awrangābād, having received the support of the bulk of the Mughal nobility of Awrangābād and Burhanpur, while Niẓam 'Alī Khān, a younger brother of Ṣalābat Jang, was wavering in his attitude. The Peshwa who met Ghāziu'd-Dīn at Awrangābād and Sayyid Lashkar Khān both offered to give Ṣalābat Jang the province of Berar, but the latter declined the offer and declared his resolve to fight. He stationed M. Bussy and the French troops at Ḥaydarābād and, after strengthening it, marched towards Bidar. Ghāziu'd-Dīn Khān also marched ten stages from Awrangābād. On the 10th of November, news was received at Pondicherry that the Nawwāb had been poisoned on 16th October 1752 at the instigation of Ṣalābat Jang. Kasi Das Bukkanji's *gumāshta* sent word to Cuddalore that the Nawwāb fell sick on tasting the food and died on the third day. Kincaid and Parasnis say (*A History of the Maratha People* Vol. III, p. 16) that it was the mother of Niẓām 'Alī that poisoned Ghāziu'd-Dīn who died on the 16th October.

indignation, besides other pleasing stories. The Nawwāb Āṣafu'd-Dawla Ghāziu'd-Dīn Khān Bahādur in accordance with his innate humanity and generosity, and his inherent honesty and sincerity showed her great reverence and respect, honour and politeness; treated her as his own mother and never neglected the smallest detail in observing the formalities of obedience and in comforting her. To all outward appearance, her motherly love found expression in all ways; "verily, the machinations of women are great."

She tended him with an affection shown to her own son and the Nawwāb took her to be sincere. He never hesitated to partake of dishes cooked by her. One day, during the hot weather, he remembered a favourite drink of Nawwāb Āṣaf Jāh, his noble father, used by him to alleviate the heat, and ordered for it. It was to be prepared with butter-milk and thin pieces of cucumber, along with salt and spices to make it savoury. She who was on the look-out for an opportunity, spoke of her own skill and offered sincerely and gladly to prepare the drink for him. The Nawwāb who had faith in her kindness and sincerity, was ignorant of her deceit and treachery, and agreed. As soon as she brought to him the drink mixed with poison, he drank it unhesitatingly, and on account of the infection of the poison, he hastened to the permanent world. The smoke of sighs at this grief which came out of the breast of the times, confused the brain of the administration of the kingdom.

Great commotion happened in the government at Shāhjahānābād also on account of the domination of ungrateful amīrs. That is Aḥmad Shāh Pādshāh was blinded[1] and thrown

(1) The reign of Aḥmad Shāh Pādshāh marks the rapid decline of the Empire. After a series of disasters the Emperor was finally deposed and sent to prison by 'Imādu'l-Mulk in June 1754. He was succeeded by 'Ālamgīr II, the youngest son of Jahāndār Shāh. See J. N. Sarkar, *Fall of the Mughal Empire*, Vol. I, Chapters viii & ix.

in prison, and some other from among that family came to the throne. Thus the Pādshāh was helpless in the hands of the amīrs, who agreed among themselves and seated on the throne whomsoever they liked. Thus every day they brought one prince from Salīmgadh, which was the prison-house for the princes, seated him on the throne and carried back his predecessor. In these circumstances every one of the neighbouring rulers, bound the waist of his independence, and Hindustan was thus broken up among the kings of the provinces into which as empire it had been divided. The Mahrattas who were no better than zamindars found themselves rulers over great tracts of the kingdom. In like manner Ṣalābat Jang, after attaining the authority over the Deccan, beat the drum of his fame and held authority without any hindrance. The French attained strength to do what they liked.

After these events M. Dupleix suddenly joined the other zamindars who according to the orders of the Emperor and the Nawwāb Āṣafu'd-Dawla Bahādur, the Wazīr, had followed and helped Ḥaẓrat-i-A'lā. M. Dupleix took the opportunity, and instigated Karāchūrī Nandraj to ask for the grant of the fort of Trichinopoly[1], *i.e.*, Natttharnagar in return for the troubles he took in helping Ḥaẓrat-i-A'lā, to hand it over to Murari Rao its former possessor, and advised him that the refusal might be made the cause for war. In accordance with this advice of M. Dupleix, Karāchūrī

(1) M. Dupleix was secretly negotiating with Nanja Raja and Murari Rao. Captain Dalton suspected this and wrote about the behaviour of Nanja Raja to Madras. The discontentment of the Mysore troops with Muḥammad 'Alī also was fomented by M. Dupleix. The Mysoreans conspired with some of the Nawwāb's captains and made a surprise attack on Trichinopoly in December when there were already 700 of their own men in the garrison of the fort. But they retired soon when their camp was attacked in the night by Dalton. The English and the Nawwāb turned out the 700 Mysoreans who were in the Trichinopoly fort and detained as a hostage Gopal Raj, the junior brother of Nanja Raja, who commanded the troops.

Nandraj sent to Ḥaẓrat-i-A'lā who was then encamping at Tiruvati a messenger with the following message concerning the facts narrated above.

The message of Nandraj to Ḥaẓrat-i-A'lā

"I maintain with his majesty, the relationship of a slave and servant. I understand that obedience to his exalted highness will be the cause of happiness. When the *sarkār* was engaged in war, I toiled hard and emptied the treasury in the hope that my labours will be appreciated and that I would be favoured with the gift of the fort of Nattharnagar. Formerly Rakhoji the Mahratta entrusted the fort to me and Murari Rao was representing me there. It becomes your bountiful heart and exalted will to favour me with it again, in consideration of my services. In the sweat of my brow I kept a firm footing in this undertaking; I broke the seals of ancestral treasures to realise my ambition. I have for my associates the French and the Mahrattas who are inseparable. My army and that of my allies are as numerous as the sands of a desert. It is not advisable for his majesty to oppose the servants who form a world of enemies. It is plain that though the French army be made to perish many a time by the sword of the brave soldiers of the *sarkār*, yet they present themselves like devils, in numbers that equal the drops of blood shed on previous battle-fields."

Ḥaẓrat-i-A'lā was greatly irritated at the message and broke the cup of his hope with the stone of the following reply.

The reply of Ḥaẓrat-i-A'lā

"You know that from the beginning of the growth of my prosperity, bestowed on me by God, how many rebels claimed equality with me and finally stained themselves with disgrace. This you have seen and known, and yet if you happen to have an itching head, it is evident that it requires a blow to break it. To achieve your goal, it behoves you not to rely on the French

and Murari Rao. Be on your guard; do not be deceived by knaves and walk in a wrong way. Think it necessary to feel thankful for your condition with the good presents acknowledged already, just as other allies are, and retreat safely from this seditious way. Else it is not known, in which chain of calamity the consequences of this madness will draw you; and in the wound of which lance the effect of the ebullition of this sinful blood will involve you."

When the vakils returned without achieving the object and brought an unfavourable reply to his letter, Nandraj found a way to exhibit the wickedness of the heart, and an opportunity to display his vain desire. He besieged the fort of Nattharnagar[1] with the help of the French, while Murari Rao, in accordance with his order, marched with his own horse, infantry and the French forces to attack the army of the *sarkār* at Tirwati[2] and thus threw dust on his head because of bad time; for the army of the *sarkār* deemed that it would do to encamp at a place situated between the fort of Tiruvati and the river. Owing to the prolongation of the siege for a year,

(1) See Malleson's *History of the French in India*, pp. 388-390.

(2) The French came to an agreement with Murari Rao in December, 1752, by which M. Dupleix agreed to pay the Mahratta chief a very large sum per month.

[3] M. Dupleix asked Murari Rao to attack Mu'tabir Khān, the *qil'adār* of Ranjangudi who had betrayed the French, giving him the promise of fifty per cent. of the booty that might be got out of the engagement. Murari Rao reached Pondicherry by the middle of January with a body of 4,000 men and thence marched together with 500 Europeans and 2,000 sepoys to attack Tiruvati where Lawrence and the Nawwāb had encamped. The French and Murari Rao assailed Muḥammad Alī's army, and besieged the small party left in Tiruvati fort. Lawrence had to retreat with 100 slain. This skirmish on 20th of January was, according to Martineau (*Dupleix et l' Inde Francaise*, Vol. III, p. 317) neither a victory nor a defeat for either party. There were two engagements on the 8th and 16th of February. Throughout the month of March the French operations round Tiruvati were dull. But Murari Rao went on to capture Tiruvendipuram, three miles west of Tiruppapuliyur towards the end of the month.

the perpetual fight, the blockading of the ways on all sides, and the dispersion of the French soldiers, there were endless difficulties in getting provisions. Ḥazrat-i-A'lā grew thoughtful at this, and with the idea to evacuate the enemy from the battle-field, he started towards Dewnampattan situated not far off.

The fight of Murari Rao, the death of Bhujang Rao, his brother, the flight of Murari Rao, the French slain and made to flee towards Phulcheri

According to the plan related above, Ḥazrat-i-A'lā came out of his encampment like a sword drawn from the sheath, with the idea to go to Dewnampattan belonging to the English company and thus to ward off the enemy. Murari Rao and the French pursued him with the idea of obstructing his way and wherever they overtook him, they put up a tough fight, but they were never able to achieve anything beyond getting wounded and beating a retreat. In brief Ḥazrat-i-A'lā reached Dewnampattan safely routing the enemy with the aid of his sword. Next day he took provisions as much as he could carry and thence hastened back to Tiruvati. On the way he did not find any trace of the enemy's forces, and so his army were marching at leisure without any fear. They had scarcely covered half the distance when the fiend got out of its ambush, threw arrows and cannon balls and destroyed the army of the *sarkar* to such an extent that troop after troop took refuge under the declivity of a river bank that was on the way, having no courage to come out in the open. Observing this dispersion and agitation Ḥazrat-i-A'lā with great serenity, gave order to raise the prosperous banners and pitch the tents. Then he collected and arranged the remaining soldiers, and displayed the hand of skill in cannonading and archery. The forces of Murari Rao and the French had joined the fight on both the

sides. That is, Bhujang Rao a brave *sardār*,[1] the brother of Murari Rao, attacked the army of the *sarkār* from one side with six thousand valiant horse; he gave such a severe battle, that the evil eye was about to fall on the victorious army. But suddenly by the grace of the True Helper, the bird of his head flew away from the branch of his neck because of a sling-like cannon ball. His army flew like feathers in the air and got dispersed. During this excitement Muḥammad Abrār Khān spurred his swift horse and sharply pursued the runaways. On account of the death of an experienced *sardār* like Bhujang Rao all the Mahrattas fled in fear all on a sudden leaving their implements of war and threw the dust of disgrace on the heads. In this bustle the French[2] also left their cannon and other implements to be looted; some were wounded and some were killed; and the survivors reached Phulcheri in great alarm, confusion and sorrow.

(1) Bhujanga Rao is the brother of Murari Rao. He came to Clive's assistance at the siege of Arcot. His death took place in the fight on 1st of April. Orme calls him as the nephew of Murari Rao.

(2) This was not true though Orme says that the day of battle ended with Lawrence's assaulting the French near Tiruvati. Of course the French troops retreated as Ananda Ranga Pillai remarks in his *Diary*, but the Mahrattas fought gloriously. "They showed two or three times as much courage as they usually do and our people disappointed them." *See* page 294 of Vol. VIII of the *Diary*.

Hazrat-i-A'lā marches towards the fort of Nattharnagar known as Trichinopoly with the idea of fighting against Nandraj, appoints his brothers Abdu'l-Wahhab Khān Bahādur as the na'ib to the nizamat of Muhammadpur (Arcot), and Muhammad Najībullah Khan Bahadur as na'ib to the suba of Nellore, and gives them leave to depart

After the death of Bhujang Rao and the flight of Murari Rao and the French, Hazrat-i-A'lā reached Tiruvati with his victorious army In the meanwhile a messenger brought the news of the siege of Trichinopoly by Karachūrī Nandraj and the French, and the consequent straitened circumstances, the dispersion of the inhabitants as well as the soldiers in the fort of Nattharnagar, the paucity of sepoys, the want of provisions, the difficulty of getting corn, and the certainty of losing Natthar-nagar in case reinforcement and provisions were not sent

As soon as Hazrat-i-A'lā heard the news, he stored the fort of Tiruvati with provisions and strengthened it with Indian and English soldiers Of his beloved brothers he chose Abdul-Wahhab Khān Bahādur as the *na'ib* to the *nizamat* of Arcot He was pleased to appoint as the *na'ib* to the *suba* of Nellore another brother Muhammad Najībullah Khan Bahadur who was living at Haydarabād along with Muhammad Mahfūz Khān Bahadur, the senior brother, and who after receiving letters of invitation from Hazrat-i-A'lā, reached his presence in spite of the fact that his senior brother was alone at Haydarābād. He issued orders to the two brothers and gave them plenty of advice so that they might be careful in the administration of the *sūbas* entrusted to them

"We have been repulsed in our battles and engagements with our enemies, and we must be helped in all ways. Especially there must never be any delay in successive remittances of money You must be cautious, provident, and careful in

your respective places on account of the great confusion that is happening at Shājahānābād and the union of the French with Ṣalābat Jang."

Then he sent them to their respective *ṣūbas*. For a period of three years Ḥaẓrat-i-A'lā was busy fighting continuously many powerful enemies, patiently suffering all sorts of difficulties, and during this period both the brothers, in the pride of their independence, lost their regard for the labours of Ḥaẓrat-i-A'lā, and never helped him either with a straw or the least farthing. They thought that the *ṣūbas* belonged to them, and spent away all the revenues. However many letters full of maxims and advice were sent from this side of the *sarkār*, they never created the least impression on them. Therefore Ḥaẓrat-i-A'lā after he settled the affairs with Nandraj, deprived the two brothers of their offices.

Although Abdu'l-Wahhāb Khān Bahādur, his own brother, did not draw up his forces in a hostile manner, yet on various occasions and in many instances, he had distressed the mind of Ḥaẓrat-i-A'lā.

Muḥammad Najībullāh Khān Bahādur, on the other hand, drew up the army in battle array, but he was besieged in the fort of Nellore, dismissed from the post of *nā'ib* to the *niẓāmat*, and imprisoned. Later, he was released, and was honoured as one of the intimate companions of Ḥaẓrat-i-A'lā.

In the same manner, Muḥammad Maḥfūẓ Khān Bahādur[1] came from Ḥaydarābād during the days of the siege of the fort of Phulcheri, and when he was entrusted with the

(1) Muḥammad 'Alī sent an expedition in 1755 to Madura and Tinnevelly with a view to bring them under his control. Colonel Heron was in chief command. Maḥfūẓ Khān Bahādur was in command of 1,000 horse of the Nawwāb, and Muḥammad Yūsuf Khān of 2,000 sepoys. Maḥfūẓ Khān was indifferent throughout. For details about his doings in the South, *see* Caldwell, *History of Tinnevelly*, pp. 92-116; and Nelson's *Madura Manual*, Part III, pp. 273-281.

taluks of Madura and Tinnevelly he gave himself airs. So Ḥaẓrat-i-A'lā appointed in his place Muḥammad Yūsuf Khān[1] the *risāladār* of the army and dismissed his brother whom he caused to be imprisoned and brought to his presence. Considering that he was his own brother and also senior in age, Ḥaẓrat-i-A'lā pardoned him, and as usual showed him respect. Again for the second time he took leave of Ḥaẓrat-i-A'lā under the pretext of making a pilgrimage to Makka (may Allāh increase its fame and glory), went to Ḥaydarābād and brought to the Carnatic Niẓām 'Alī Khān Bahādur Āṣaf Jāh II and Ḥaydar 'Alī Khān, the ruler of Mysore, with a large army and implements of war. After many a battle Muḥammad Maḥfūẓ Khān became a captive in the hands of Muḥammad Abrār Khān near Madura and suffered the disgrace of imprisonment in the fort of Nattharnagar. Again he was pardoned merely by the innate disposition and dutiful nature of Ḥaẓrat-i-A'lā, was provided with comforts and ease; he became one of the loyal and intimate companions of the Nawwāb. By the grace of Allāh these details will be written in the second book in the course of the account about his brothers.

In brief, after hearing the news from the messenger, the Nawwāb fortified the fort of Tiruvati, and gave leave to the two brothers to depart to their respective *ṣūbas*. He then started *via* Salambar (Chidambaram) and Tajāwar (Tanjore) intending to reach Natthamagar, and arrived at Kundūr adjacent to the fort of Tanjore. Pratap Singh, the zamindar of that

(1) Yūsuf Khān was perhaps the ablest of the Indian soldiers who fought in the early wars between the English and the French. He was employed in the first instance as commander of the company's native troops, and in the year 1754 was given a regular commission as the commander of all the company sepoys on the recommendation of Lawrence. He took part in the campaigns of Trichinopoly in 1752-54 and in the siege of Madras 1758-59. He was the Governor of Madura in the years 1760-61. He is said to be the same type of adventurer as Ḥaydar 'Alī. *See* S. C. Hill, *Yusuf Khan, the Rebel Commandant.*

place, paid his respects, welcomed him, showed him hospitality, and in eagerness to attain the good will of Ḥaẓrat-i-A'lā sent along with him army and provisions.

Murari Rao who had recovered from mourning for the death of his brother, attacked the walls of the fort of Tiruvati many a time without success, and suffered disgrace. So he started, following the victorious army, and reached the company of his friends. In short, Nandraj, Murari Rao and the French commissioned their entire forces to blockade the roads on all sides and raised their heads with pride.

The powerful and victorious master (Ḥaẓrat-i-A'lā) saw the superiority of the enemy everywhere and as a matter of policy chose to camp for two days at Tirukkattuppalli situated at a distance of six *kurōh* from Nattharnagar. With all his endeavours he could not advance even a step further. By chance heavy rains set in and he saw some relaxation in the jealous blockading of the way. Just then he found the opportunity and marched forward through the forest situated on the frontier of Tondaman. When he appeared on the *maydān* of Nattharnagar from the side of Fatahpahāṛī, the army of the enemies surrounded him on all sides and attacked him in such a manner that the bridle of authority was about to slip from his hands to the wastage of so much labour.[1] But the protection of the Powerful Protector was diligently engaged in managing the prosperity of Ḥaẓrat-i-A'lā. Notwithstanding the noise of the greedy who ran in all directions like furious

(1) Muḥammad Alī went from Tiruvati to Trichinopoly on the 17th of May. Hostilities commenced on the 21st when Lawrence made a daring attempt to drive the French who had occupied Srirangam. The battle lasted for 20 hours. Astruc, the French Commander, who had been dispatched by M. Dupleix with reinforcements, came to the rescue. The English were forced to retreat to Trichinopoly Fort by the cannonading of the French. Lawrence despaired of driving out the French from Srirangam, marched into the plain and encamped at Faqīr's tope, with a view to collect provisions and stand a siege.

lions, the devastation of baggage and provisions, the wounding, slaughter and flight of a large number of sepoys, Ḥaẓrat-i-A'lā entered Nattharnagar alone with a limited number of men, and light baggage, with his horse and whip and fighting with the sword. The armies of the French and Nandraj lost their courage to fight in vain, and stayed at Srirang and Jhamgīr in disgrace, while the army of Murari Rao camped on the bank of the Kaveri.

Nandraj erects an earthen rampart on the sides of the hill of Bhangārkūnda to store it with guns, gunpowder, and other implements of war; he besieges the ramparts of the fort and reduces the besieged to narrow straits by blockading the ways of communication; Ḥaẓrat-i-A'lā, in a state of despondency, attacks during night the enemy's forces; the immense success by the grace of the Lord of men and genii.

The strong castle of power is preserved for the glorious monarch. Though the wall of calamity of the impudence of the enemy is all iron, and the hill of the store of mischievous things is on the skirt, yet they will be scattered like dust by the attack of brave men in his zealous service. There is the blessing of the abundance of riches in his majestic and fortunate hand which gets allowance of provision from the table of unlimited bounties of God. If at any time it complains of shortage of even a morsel, on account of worldly calamity, all the affluence of the seven heavens, become the fountain for its enjoyment by the command of the Great Distributor of the lots of men and genii.

When Ḥaẓrat-i-A'lā entered the fort of Nattharnagar like the sun in the sign Aries, he found its shortage in provisions; the provisions he was bringing with him had already been looted. Yet he strongly defended the fort by means of his management

and self-possession. Every day he devised fresh means to bring in provisions.

Nandraj grew haughty and proud in the strength and power of his own army and that of his association with Murari Rao, the French and others. With a view to intensify the siege from his encampment at Srirang and Jhamgīr, he stationed an army to the north of the fort towards Dhobibandā, another to the east of the fort, a third to the west, while he posted himself to the south with his army to prevent men who carried provisions during night time from the territory of the zamindar of Tondaman. Round about the hill of Bhangārkūnda he erected a mud and stone rampart for storing it with cannon, gunpowder, other implements and provisions and surrounded it with his own accursed army. The French forces were stationed opposite to Bhangārkūnda on a hill which came to be known from that day as Fataḥpahāṛī. On Raṭīmala situated to the west, and also on the eight sides of the fort, he posted well-equipped contingents in due military order so that no provision or reinforcement could reach the fort and that the fort might thus be reduced to subjugation of its own will.

On account of the assault and the plunder day and night by the Kallars and the Mahratta horse on all sides of the fort even birds did not fly; and because of the blockade of the roads of communication to Tondaman, and of the want of grains and other necessary things, great anxiety overtook the army of the *sarkār* and other inmates of the fort. So much so Ḥaẓrat-i-A'lā despaired of success, assembled all the nobles, ministers, General Lawrence and other *sardārs* of the English army and deliberated with them (addressing as follows):

"During the days of war with Ḥusayn Dōst Khān, we surpassed others because of our treasure, glorious army, and the support of our friends in Hindustan and the Deccan. At present, considering the hopelessness of help from any one, the

meal; then he brought to their notice the burden of starvation they had to bear, the hardship of imprisonment they had to suffer at the hands of the enemy, and the destruction of family and property. Then he informed them thus:

"To-morrow is the day for the exhibition of bravery, the occasion to display courage on the *maydān* of intrepidity, the opportunity for the performance of sword-play; it is the market to purchase honour and reputation. So whoever has regard for our friendship and agrees to share with us sorrow and distress may remain; whosoever desires to part from us may go to any place he chooses."

Consequently many of the soldiers agreed to stay with him; only a few went away under the pretext of sickness and other excuses. When the available army hastened to the parade, Ḥaẓrat-i-A'lā found one thousand and one hundred horse, two thousand foot soldiers, belonging to himself and his allies from Tanjore and Tondaman; five hundred *frangs* one thousand and five hundred armed soldiers—in all two thousand men—from the side of the English, and six cannon. On the other hand the enemy's forces were numerous. There were thirty thousand horse, fifty thousand infantry, belonging to Nandraj, and Murari Rao, twelve thousand armed men, three thousand soldiers, one hundred cannon belonging to the French. Thus the strength of the forces on both the sides may be compared to a straw and a mountain on a pair of scales; a single man facing a big multitude.

Then Ḥaẓrat-i-A'lā went inside the *maḥalsarāy*, and took leave of them all; he spread the whole area with gunpowder and addressed Khayru'd-Dīn Khān his brother-in-law and *nā'ib*, as follows:

"Witness from the tower of the fort the *tamāshā* of our army to-morrow. Since we do not intend to return with our lives, without achieving our object, it is necessary in such circumstances, that you set fire to this gunpowder; so that none

Satlī, was without any rank and title and was the horse-groom of his master. Straining his eyes the Khān was able to recognise the General fighting hard sword in hand at a short distance from the place. Then he submitted to Ḥaẓrat-i-A'lā the situation in which General Lawrence was close by. The English General had captured the French and made them inactive because of the intoxication of their negligence, his own bravery and skill in all branches of warfare, the darkness of the night, and the veil of imagination of the largeness of the army of the *sarkār*; he had also pinned the French by placing two fully loaded cannon on either side and instilling in their minds great dread of imprisonment. When Ḥaẓrat-i-A'lā called out to him in a loud voice, the English General with a wave of his hand signalled to him not to call aloud pointing out at the same time that all those seated between the two cannon, were the French, who had, by their indiscretion, become his prisoners. "God forbid, let them not recognise you by your voice that you are the Nawwāb and thus come to know the limited strength of our army; it is probable they may turn against us and get to action, for it is well known that 'a strong game can sometimes tear the net.' So it is necessary that these captives are led in this darkness, in all haste, by the army of the *sarkār* to the fort of Nattharnagar." Accordingly that very moment half of the army of the *sarkār* under the command of Muḥammad Abrār Khān led the French with great care, to the jail in the fort.

In the meanwhile the army of Murari Rao and others who were fast asleep at the temple of Srirang woke up at the noise of the gun shots, and reached the battle-field in the early dawn. They took the defeat of the French to be the defeat of their own brave sword and got dispersed. The newly built rampart at Bhangārkūnda with all implements, cannon, gun-powder and various kinds of stores, came into the possession of the friends of power testifying to the saying 'How

many a small party overcame large parties with the help of Allāh?' Katī Gopal, the younger brother of Nandraj was captured along with 2000 men, and all were shut up in the prison of the fort along with other prisoners.

By a general order of Ḥaẓrat-i-A'lā one and all, high and low, had a share of the spoils at Bhangārkūnda and every house had its heap of corn and provisions. The good fortune of the just king and his success obtained by a crushing defeat over the enemy, put an end to the famine and brought immense wealth. Ḥaẓrat-i-A'lā offered his thanks to the glorious Lord for his great success. He congratulated General Lawrence and presented him with an elephant. All the *sardārs* of the army were honoured according to their ranks with presents of horses, *khil'at*, and promotions to higher rank. The brave men in the army were presented with gold and precious stones.

Ḥaẓrat-i-A'lā attacks in person Waykūndān a small fort; the imprisonment of Walī Bahādur, its qil'adār along with four hundred men and their internment in the fort of Dāru'n-naṣr Nattharnagar (Trichinopoly).

The assistance of God, exalted be His name, becomes a surety for the servant whom He selects from the generality of mankind for the improvement of the serious affairs of His creatures, and solves His difficulties.

Nandraj, a coward like Murari Rao and the French, ran away from the battle-field of Bhangārkūnda towards Srirang and Jhamgīr with the remaining army which escaped imprisonment; Ḥaẓrat-i-A'lā sent to Dāru'n-naṣr the excess provisions, and spoils from the rampart built by Nandraj. Then with the idea of opening the highways on all sides, he first turned the reins of the horse of his conquering will, along with his army, towards the fort of Waykūndān, situated to the west of Nattharnagar,

and defended by Walī Bahādur who, not true to the salt he had eaten of the previous *sarkār*, attached himself to Mysore, became a traitor, and was lying in ambush with four hundred men from the army of the three enemies to prevent the passage of provisions from Tondaman. Ḥaẓrat-i-A'lā attacked that fort[1] in person with great bravery, subjugated it and levelled it to the ground. The troops garrisoned there, were made life-prisoners, and led to Dāru'n-nasr.

When Ḥaẓrat-i-A'lā by the grace of God found success in subjugating the fort and in opening the highways on all sides, he learnt that the forces of the three enemies were camping at the temple of Srirang and Jhamgīr, between the two rivers, seeking an opportunity to attack the fort of Natthar-nagar. His army was but small, yet he deemed it prudent to exhibit its strength, power, and dignity. So, he resolved to march through a way where there is no necessity to cross the Kaveri and attack the enemy in the night. He started with his victorious army from Dāru'n-nasr and reached Koyiladi[2] situated to the east of the fort at a distance of five *kurōh*. On account of the setting in of heavy and continuous rains for forty days, the consequent overflowing of the rivers, and the excess of slush it was impossible for men to proceed without the fear of getting drowned; so he found it necessary to halt there for a long time. He considered it difficult to execute his plan of night assault on account of the impossibility of moving the wheels of the cannon. In the meanwhile the infantry of Nandraj according to their wont, laid violent hands on travel-

(1) The French had a small force in the Uyyakondan battery, adjoining a channel of the same name, to the west of the Trichinopoly town. Lawrence attacked it, and took about 400 of the enemy prisoners.

(2) Lawrence resolved to pass the rainy season in cantonment on the border of Tanjore and moved to Koiladi accompanied by the Nawwab. 400 sepoys and a body of 150 Europeans were sent to Trichinopoly to strengthen its garrison.

lers and peasants. They cut the noses and the ears of twenty men. Hazrat-i-A'lā grew indignant at this news, and perforated the ears of Nandraj with the following:

"Restrain your men from such odious acts; else know for certain that you have to bear in your mind the sorrow of the loss of the noses and the ears of your brother Katī Gopal and of the two thousand prisoners of war captured at Bhangārkūnda and other places".

Nandraj was terrified at this news, and prohibited his men cutting noses and ears, and engaged himself in storing large quantity of provisions.

The French get by ladder into the fort of Natharnagar owing to the treachery of the ṣūbadār in the service of the sarkār; their entry into the first enclosure, and thence to the second enclosure; their imprisonment, loss of life, and flight owing to the discovery and the arrival of Khayru'd-Dīn Khān.

Those who obtain eternal power depend only upon the protection of the Real Protector; they think themselves nowhere and consider Him alone as the Omnipresent and Eternal Witness. Their affairs, irrespective of personal presence or absence, can neither be shaken nor destroyed by the deceit of the wicked. If, for a time, the rebels who indulge in revolution, place the mischievous ladder in the fort during the darkness of rebellion, it is no wonder that the superintendence of the Watchful Protector defeats the object.

The powerful and fortunate king came out of the fort with his victorious army to attack the wicked forces during night and stayed at Koyiladi during the severe rains waiting for an opportunity. Khayru'd-Dīn Khān the *nā'ib* at the fort of Dāru'n-naṣr, Sayyid 'Alī Khān the *qil'adār*, Sayyid Nāṣir 'Alī Khan the *sil'adār*, and the English troop were strongly guarding the fort. The *sardārs* of the French army, Karāchūrī

Nandraj and Murari Rao were perplexed on account of the breaking up of their own siege, notwithstanding their large army, great strength, pomp, plentiful implements of war and other things. On careful consideration of the facts, they agreed to bribe the *ṣūbadār*, an employee of the *sarkār*, a trustworthy person in all the affairs of the fort, through his brother who was employed in their own army. In accordance with a spurious plan they engaged themselves to prepare ladders and implements for assault, and waited for a signal from the *ṣūbadār* who secured one day a passport from Khayru'd-Dīn Khān to go to one of the districts outside the limits of the fort, under the pretext of attending a marriage of one of his relations, and had his family got out of the fort. Then he informed the enemy of the suitability of the night of that day. The deceitful French along with the armies of Nandraj and Murari Rao, cannon and other implements for assault, crossed the river Kaveri during night by means of boats which they were prudent enough to keep ready for the occasion. The French with their own army placed ladders[1] against the wall on the side of the tower which was protected by the tomb of Shāh Fataḥu'llāh Ṣāḥib (may Allāh sanctify his resting place), and nearly five hundred *frangs* with guns on their shoulders entered the first enclosure. Since the ladders were short, they felt helpless to get into the second enclosure whose walls were higher than

(1) M. Dupleix had superseded M. Massin by Mainville, sent new reinforcements and ordered a night escalade of the fort. The imprisoned Astruc had arranged with the sentries at the fort-gate to pay them a large bribe, if, after making a show of resistance they should open the gates to the assaulting party. The assault was made without the knowledge of Nanja Raja or Murari Rao who were informed only later. *The French entered the gates*, but failed to post troops there, and overturned the guns on the rampart into the ditch. The English contrived to shut the gate, seized the powder and shot of the French party and fired against the men on the ramparts. About *400 men fell into English hands*, including nine officers. This reverse greatly dispirited M. Dupleix.

those of the first. So they joined the ladders in twos lengthwise, bound them with ropes, and entered the tower of the second enclosure. Nandraj and Murari Rao with all their forces fully armed, anxiously waited, and were all ears in order to enter the fort as soon as the French went in and opened its door. In the meanwhile Khayru'd-Dīn Khān caught sight of the form of Shah Fataḥu'llāh Sāḥib (may his soul rest in peace) who directed him thus: "Ah! my son, why are you asleep? Catch hold of the enemy who has entered the fort." He arose in great fear from the stupor of his sleep, sent orders to the *sardār* of the English troops and other *sardārs* of the army of *sarkār* to get ready for action, while he himself marched with the available men towards the tower whose identifying marks he had seen in the dream and got up the rampart. In the meanwhile eighty-five French soldiers had reached the tower in the second enclosure by means of ladders, and had taken possession of the cannon there. Others also were trying to climb up. Suddenly the Khān with great alertness and dexterity fell upon them like a divine mandate and imprisoned about eighty men who were in the tower. The armies of the *sarkār* and the English marched through the central gate of the fort and suddenly came between the two enclosures. They opened fire as well as the door of the fort of death for those who were collected there. Those who chose to escape from that danger fell a prey to the alligators in the ditch. The well-wishers of the *sarkār* cleared the fort of the enemy; then with the aid of lights they were able to find many horsemen and foot-soldiers moving about in utter confusion and deputed an army to punish them. They also opened the mouths of the cannon from above the towers of the fort to blow the trumpet of destruction for these wicked men. Thus by dawn they made the earth assume a vermilion colour and the river Kaveri turn into a river of blood by means of their brave hands. By the time when the light of dawn mixed with the red glow of

sunrise, they drew on the paper of time, a picture of happy day for friends and sorrowful night for the foes The lamentations of four hundred and seventy-two *frangs* served as the musical instrument for their happy rejoicing Hazrat-i-A'la in his camp at Koyiladi heard the report of *guns* and was greatly agitated throughout the night Next morning on the receipt of an *arzdasht* from Khayru'd-Dīn Khan, which contained details of the treacherous events of the previous night and of success, Hazrat i A'la offered his thanks to the Real Victor Immediately he started and at evening time he cast on the heads of the inhabitants of Natthar nagar his shadow like a *huma* He met his friends and honoured the *sepoys* with his favours in return for their bravery He arranged to make offerings with prayers at the shrines of pious men especially of the *dargah* of Shah Fatahullah Sahib He conferred on Khayrud Dīn Khan the title of Bahādur and made him feel glorified with increase in *mansabs*

The French conclude peace with Hazrat-i-A'la, the flight of Nandraj and Murari Rao towards their home

The success in these conflicts is worthy of the prestige of the magnificent king The refractory enemy camps on the other side of the rapid river, yet, the waves of the sword lash furiously blotting out enmity, consequently the enemy runs the boat of hand imploring for peace

Though the whole world is bent on mischief, it is not possible to see any distressed soul under the canopy of peace.

Though Nandraj and Murari Rao were disheartened on account of the trials of successive defeats and the prolongation of war and siege, and were inclined to turn *their faces towards* their own home, yet outwardly they raised the banner of war because of the French encouragement, while inwardly with all their feelings benumbed, they were on the look out for a pretext to run away

PEACE CONCLUDED WITH THE FRENCH

When the news of wars in various parts of the Carnatic, the exaltation of the banner of success of the glorious and powerful Ḥaẓrat-i-A'lā, the subjugation of all forts, the capture of all districts and other places, the removal of the intoxicating wine of pride of the ill-fated French on account of the glass of mischief and deceit being broken and the consequent inversion of the cup of every plan and war, the imprisonment of the French in the fort of the victorious Ḥaẓrat-i-A'lā—when these news reached Frangistān (Europe), the king of France woke up from the sleep of forgetfulness. He thought that this profitless war against the powerful and brave English in this land was due to his own fault. So he concluded peace with the Pādshāh of the English in England. Then the orders from the two Pādshāhs, conveying the news of peace between them, reached the governors of the Indian ports.

M. Godeheu one of the intimate companions of the French Pādshāh, started from his home with presents and peace treaty addressed to Ḥaẓrat-i-A'lā and reached Phulcheri. He concluded peace with the *sardārs* of the English ports and sought peace from Ḥaẓrat-i-A'lā as well as the honour of interview, submitting presents and letter sent by his Pādshāh.[1] The powerful Nawwāb did not agree for peace. Then the English *sardārs* informed him that their own Pādshāh had concluded peace, and recommended that the approval of his policy in peace and war is conducive to the increase of mutual amity and friendship. On hearing this the Nawwāb agreed for peace, and accepted the presents and letter. Then he gave an interview to M. Godeheu and addressed him thus:

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(1) M. Godeheu who landed at Pondicherry in August 1754, negotiated for a three months' truce which was accepted by the English and the truce was proclaimed in October. Then two English deputies visited Pondicherry, and a provisional treaty was signed at the end of December. M. Godeheu did not meet the Nawwāb.

Dodwell says that negotiations took place at Sadras in January 1754 between the English and the French. See *Dupleix and Clive*, pp. 72-74.

"We had no idea of peace but to expel your deceitful community from this land; yet out of regard for the treaty concluded by the Pādshāh of the English, our brother dear as life, and the recommendation of our sincere and devoted General Lawrence we consent to conclude treaty on the following conditions:

(1) the French should not deviate from the path of obedience as in the past;

(2) they should be friendly with our friends and inimical towards our enemies;

(3) they should not shelter in their town Riẓā 'Alī Khān the son of Ḥusayn Dōst Khān; nor should they have any kind of relationship with Nandraj or Murari Rao;

(4) they should pay compensation for the loss in the collection of revenue during the period of the troubles caused by them;

(5) they should recoup the expenses of war and agree to pay twice the usual *pēshkash* as a penalty for all their misdeeds."

M. Godeheu agreed to be inimical to the enemies of Ḥaẓrat-i-A'lā and friendly to his friends, to pay the usual *pēshkash*, to commit no mischief in future, to give no shelter in their town to Riẓā 'Alī Khān and to have no dealings with Nandraj and Murari Rao. But as regards compensation for the loss of revenue, the meeting of the expenses of war, and the payment of double the amount of the usual *pēshkash* as a penalty for misdeeds, he requested immunity from Ḥaẓrat-i-A'lā through the recommendation of General Lawrence, the nobles of the court, and by additional gifts, presents, and rare articles.

After ratifying the conditions of treaty, and accepting the letter of the French Pādshāh, the translation of which will be included, God willing, along with other letters from sultans and other men, in the course of details in the second book, Ḥaẓrat-i-A'lā set free the French prisoners and entrusted them to M. Godeheu to whom he presented a horse, *khil'at*, and gave leave to proceed to Phulcheri.

M. Godeheu blamed M. Dupleix[1] for creating profitless trouble in the land of the Carnatic and sent him home. In his place he appointed M. Līrī[2], a *sardār*, as the governor of Phulcheri. Then M. Godeheu stayed for some time and left India for his native home.

On the day when peace was established with the French, Nandraj and Murari Rao were overcome with exceeding dread and got paralysed, and stole away during the night in great confusion.

Thus after a long period of war, peace was established in the land by the command of God. The peasants and the merchants who were scattered, returned to their respective homes and resumed their work. Travellers by sea and land began to come and go without any fear.

Ḥaẓrat-i-A'lā reaches Chennapattan with the idea of subjugating Nellore; the governor of Chennapattan requests the removal of M. Bussy from the services of Nawwāb Ṣalābat Jang; Ḥaẓrat-i-A'lā writes to M. Līrī the governor of Phulcheri, receives his reply, and then dispatches a letter to Nawwāb Ṣalābat Jang; M. Bussy leaves the services of the Nawwāb; the murder of Ḥaydar Jang, his 'ilāqadār, according to the plan of the Nawwāb Niẓām Alī Khān; Ḥaẓrat-i-A'lā sends Clive with men and money to help the English factory at Calcutta.

After erecting the structure of peace and achieving tranquillity by quieting the mischief of the enemies, Ḥaẓrat-i-A'lā honoured his servants in return for all their hard labour, with different kinds of ranks, high and low, and with

(1) For Godeheu's attitude towards Dupleix, see *The Diary* of Ananda Ranga Pillai, Vol. IX, pp. 32 *et seq.*

(2) De Leyrit, Directeur de Bengal, assumed the governorship of Pondicherry in March 1755.

he marched with his army from Tiruvati towards Nattharnagar, to punish Karāchūrī Nandraj. Ḥaẓrat-i-A'lā, as described in the previous pages, appointed Abdu'l-Wahhāb Khān Bahādur to the *niẓāmat* of Arcot, Muḥammad Najību'llāh Khān Bahādur to the governorship of Nellore, and gave them leave to proceed to their respective places. According to the order of Ḥaẓrat-i-A'lā, Muḥammad Najību'llāh Khān reached Nellore, saw Muḥammad Kamāl, the previous *nāẓim*[1] of the place, proud and powerful, and wrote an *'arẓdāsht* to Ḥaẓrat-i-A'lā describing the refractoriness of Muḥammad Kamāl and his own inability to interfere. According to the order of Ḥaẓrat-i-A'lā reinforcements from Abdu'l-Wahhāb Khān Bahādur, and the *palayagars* of Venkatagiri, Kalastri, and other places reached Muḥammad Najību'llāh Khān Bahādur; he became strong and established his authority over Nellore after fighting Muḥammad Kamāl. Kamāl who feared punishment for his disobedience and rebellion, and revenge for his disloyalty and wickedness, did not find courage and ran as far as Tirupati. But he was imprisoned by the brave soldiers who pursued him, and was slaughtered by the hand of Muḥammad Najību'llāh Khān Bahādur like an animal in a slaughter house; his skull was broken, and his heart plucked out. Thus he lost his head without success, and left his woeful story as a warning in the ear of times. "Woe be to the small man, if he fights a big man".

An account of Muḥammad Kamāl

Muḥammad Kamāl was one of the children of a slave in the house of the Nawwāb Sirāju'd-Dawla Muḥammad Khān-i-jahān Anwaru'd-Dīn Khān Bahādur Shahāmat Jang. When the Nawwāb resided at Gopamaw, Mu'min, a weaver in

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straitened circumstances, entrusted his daughter to Nawwāb Shahīd who happened to be an acquaintance of his. Since the Nawwāb was by nature merciful,—a leading trait in his family,—he brought up the girl, and married her to one of his servants. She gave birth to a child named Muḥammad Kamāl and died; this was all that was left of her. After a time her husband also went the same way. The child grew in the royal household. On his reaching boyhood, his education was entrusted to the care of Muḥammad Najīb Khān Shahīd. When the boy came of age, and when Nawwāb Sirāju'd-Dawla Anwaru'd-Dīn Khān Shahīd *undertook a journey to Shājahānābād, he* borrowed a large sum of money, through the recommendation of Muḥammad Najīb Khān, for business purposes, and undertook to pay back to the *sarkār* after the lapse of an appointed time along with half of the income gained. After he obtained that sum, he went to Bengal to do business. Thence he visited the markets in the Deccan, and came to Sīkākūl (Chicacole). He prospered in his business, but neglected his promise to the *sarkār*. He did not pay back the amount, because he had neither the sense of duty nor gratitude, the absence of which is a trait of the base-born. When Nawwāb Shahīd started from Shājahānābād in the company of Nawwāb Āṣaf Jāh as described in previous pages, and the latter appointed him to the *nizamats* of Chicacole, Rājbandar and Machlibandar and other places, Muḥammad Kamāl reached his presence. There he submitted to the Nawwāb Shahīd choice articles of the ports and other kinds of presents through Muḥammad Najīb Khān, confessed his own fault in delaying the payment of the money long over-due, sought pardon and agreed to pay every pie of the capital with the profit. After some time, he again went from Chicacole under the pretext of business, reached the Carnatic Pāyānghāt, and took his residence at the port of Mylapore (San Thome) which, in those days, was one of the well-known ports where merchants from every land gathered. By erecting magnificent

buildings, and by proclaiming that he was the son of the Nawwāb Shahīd, his master, he found amity and honour among the merchants, subjects and nobles. Nay, he advertised himself in the same manner even in neighbouring islands and places as well, and found fame and glory. For some years he acted contrary to his promise and was slow in payments. After the unexpected demise of Khwāja 'Abdu'llāh Khān, Nawwāb Sirāju'd-Dawla received from Nawwāb Āṣaf Jāh, the *khil'at* of *niẓāmat* of the *ṣūba* of Arcot, and started for that place. Muḥammad Kamāl heard the news, and fearing on account of the default of payment of the money he got for his business, and the failure to keep to the promise as a loyal servant should, he advanced quickly, and went as far as the bank of the river Krishna to welcome the Nawwāb. Through Muḥammad Najīb Khān, he again attained the honour of meeting him, submitted *nadhr* and secured pardon for his fault; he reached Arcot in his company, attained the favours of the benevolent master, obtained the office of the *taḥṣīldār* of the *pēshkash* in Phulcheri and came back. When the French wandered about Mylapore with the idea of subjugating Chennapattan he joined Aḥsanu'd-Dīn Khān, the *fawjdār* of the French and gave him his daughter in marriage. Thus he fell away from the high rank of admission to the presence of his master. When Hidāyat Muḥiyyu'd-Dīn Khān established himself on the throne of the Deccan through the treachery of the French and the Afghāns, Muḥammad Kamāl obtained the *niẓāmat* of Nellore through the recommendation of Aḥsanu'd-Dīn Khān, his son-in-law, and he held his authority over that place till Muḥammad Najību'llāh Khān Bahādur subdued him.

In short Muḥammad Najību'llāh Khān Bahādur meted out the punishment for Kamāl's treachery and found himself the real *nāẓim* of the *ṣūba* of Nellore without opposition. He concluded falsely that he had achieved the exclusive authority over the place by right of heredity without the partnership of any one, and completely shut his eyes of negligence, not even send-

ing a grain to Ḥaẓrat-i-A'lā during the days of his anxiety and his wars with enemies, which made him aggrieved.

After Ḥaẓrat-i-A'lā reached Arcot he wrote letters of advice fraught with maxims and sent Afẓalu'd-Dīn Khān and 'Abdu'r-Raḥīm Khān who were the respected men of his family to advise him and put him in the right path. When Ḥaẓrat-i-A'lā found this of no avail, he resolved to go to Nellore in person and remove the anxiety from his mind.

While he was starting for Nellore, the governor of Chennapattan submitted to Ḥaẓrat-i-A'lā: "The existence of M Bussy with the French army in the Deccan along with Ṣalābat Jang is a hindrance to many ideas we have in our minds. Hence some plan may be devised to expel him from that place." Though the facts relating to the entry of M. Bussy into the Deccan have already been related, yet a brief account of him is given below, the occasion fitting it.

When Hidāyat Muhiyyu'd-Dīn Khān sat upon the *masnad* of the Deccan after the martyrdom of the Nawwāb Nāṣir Jang, he feared that the Afghāns who were treacherous against the Nawwāb might behave—God forbid—in the same manner towards him as well, and that the servants of the Nawwāb might avenge the blood of their master. So he took in his company M. Bussy with the French army, Mīr Muẓaffar and Ibrāhīm Khān with their armed men employed by the French, in order to guard himself and started from Phulcheri towards the Deccan. When he reached, as described above, Dāmalcharū, the hand of punishment came out from the sleeve of fate. Immediately the murderers of the Nawwāb and the supporters of Hidāyat Muḥiyyu'd-Dīn Khān caused to flow the blood of retaliation for the unjustifiable murder of the Nawwāb Nāṣir Jang. Nawwāb Ṣalābat Jang adorned the throne and reached Ḥaydarābād. He was so good-natured that he endured the domination of servants

over him. Matters reached such an extent that Ḥaydar Jang[1], the *'ilāqadār* of M. Bussy, in the strength of his position, dominated all the amīrs of the Deccan and brought them under his power. He left to Ṣalābat Jang nothing but the name and proudly beat the drum proclaiming, 'I am Pharoah,' so much so he never tolerated any one in the palace to open his mouth in opposition to his wishes. The amīrs and the nobles who had grown grey in the services of Nawwābs Āṣaf Jāh, Nāṣir Jang and Ghāziu'd-Dīn Khān and who did not care for him were, one after another, either killed, blinded or imprisoned. For example, Shāh Nawāz Khān[2], the old *dīwān* of Nawwāb Āṣaf Jāh and Nawwāb Nāṣir Jang, was imprisoned along with his son Ṣamṣāmu'd-Dawla Bahādur and finally murdered. He desired to murder the three brothers of Ṣalābat Jang who were prisoners in the army quarters, to do away with Ṣalābat Jang and to establish himself on the throne of the Deccan. Thus he aimed at his prosperity through impossible channels.

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(1) Ḥaydar Jang is 'Abdur-Raḥmān, one of the two sepoy-captains originally employed by the French. He accompanied M. Bussy to the Deccan and rose to be his *dīwān* and right-hand man.

(2) Shāh Nawāz Khān was born of a very noble family in 1700 A.D. He served as the *dīwān* of Berar under Niẓāmu'l Mulk and Nāṣir Jang. He was given the title of Ṣamṣāmu'd-Dawla and the rank of 7,000 horse by Ṣalābat Jang. He managed to get the dismissal of M. Bussy in 1756, though only for a time, and also enhanced the authority of Niẓām 'Alī, the younger brother of Ṣalābat Jang. Shāh Nawāz Khān was imprisoned at Dawlatābād which was seized by M. Bussy in 1758. M. Bussy's *dīwān* was murdered on a visit to Niẓām 'Alī who pretended submission. In the conflict that ensued Shāh Nawāz was slain (1758). Niẓām 'Alī fled from the scene of confusion with a party of horse and later secured the deposition and imprisonment of his brother.

Shāh Nawāz Khān was the author of the work *Ma'āthiru'l-Umarā-i-Tīmūriyya*, containing the memoirs of the nobles who served in Hindustan and the Deccan under the house of Tīmūr. It was left unfinished; later on was supplemented by one Mīr Ghulām 'Alī Āzād, and completed by his own son in 1779. The son was also given the title of Ṣamṣāmu'd-Dawla.

In the meanwhile, according to the decree of fate, one day Ṣalābat Jang wept on account of separation from his brothers and did not take food for a day and a night. He requested Ḥaydar Jang to enable him to see his brothers and dine with them. Ḥaydar Jang brought them; the Nawwāb met and dined with them; then he made another request that his brothers be given charge of taluks and given permission to go over there. Since Ḥaydar Jang was planning to separate them, he agreed. With a view to disunite the brothers by specifying and entrusting to them different offices, and to accomplish his ultimate idea by dealing with them separately one by one, he appointed them to different provinces and gave them leave to depart. Of these brothers Niẓām ʿAlī Khān (later on Āṣaf Jāh II), who was remarkable for his bravery, generosity and intelligence, and worthy to be an administrator, and a courageous ruler, sought excuse through Ṣalābat Jang for delaying his journey under the pretext of submitting to him some important affairs. One day, during the month of the holy Ramaẓān, Niẓām ʿAlī Khān[1] sent the following message to Ḥaydar Jang:

"It is necessary to meet you to discuss an affair. Either I may go over to you or you go over to me. Either way, it is but to strengthen our friendship. An indication may be, given whether you will go over to me or I may go over to you."

Fate had put its hands on his collar and made him come under the sword thirsting for his blood. According to the invitation, Ḥaydar Jang went along with a frank mind. Niẓām ʿAlī Khān observed the then current formalities of the meeting, and just at the time of beginning the conversation in private, he, under the pretext of answering calls of nature, rushed out in a hurry, as is but natural for any one so circumstanced. The men who were already instructed

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(1) For details about Niẓām ʿAlī's usurpation, *see* Orme, Vol. *II*, Book XI, pp. 475-76.

by Niẓām ʿAlī Khān caught the signal and murdered Ḥaydar Jang; they shrouded his body in a carpet and threw it aside. Niẓām ʿAlī Khān came out of the tent in confusion, took his horse, and hastened towards Jānūjī[1] the Mahratta who had encamped close by with a big army. M. Bussy learnt what had happened, coiled himself like a snake, and ordered Ibrāhīm Khān to get ready his army for punishing them. Since the bulls that used to drag the cannon had gone to the grazing ground, the work had to be postponed for the next day. In the meanwhile, Niẓām ʿAlī Khān, according to the advice of Jānūjī, went towards Berar and other places, brought back and gathered together the amīrs, nobles and other employees of Āṣaf Jāh and Nāṣir Jang who held in contempt Ḥaydar Jang and thus gained strength and power in a few days. Then Niẓām ʿAlī Khān went forth walking with a jaunty air on the *maydān* with the idea of opposing M. Bussy. Since M. Bussy thought that war was not proper in the circumstances he left the company of the Nawwāb Ṣalābat Jang and reached Ḥaydarābād. Out of fraternal love, Nawwāb Ṣalābat Jang joined his brother Niẓām ʿAlī Khān and gave him the office of a *dīwān*. After his authority was received with favour, he extended it to all the affairs of the Deccan. He drove M. Bussy even from Ḥaydarābād, set aside his own brother (Ṣalābat Jang), and seated himself firmly on the throne. M. Bussy reached Chicacole, and stayed there. When M. Lally came out of Phulcheri, captured the fort of Dewnampattan, and laid siege to Chennapattan with the idea of capturing it, M. Bussy started from Chicacole with the Deccan army and with the *frangs*, joined the army of M. Lally, and became his companion in the wars of his community.

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(1) Januji Bhonsle was the second Raja of Berar, who succeeded Raghuji. He ruled from 1749-1772.

Now to return to my narration: According to the request of George Becket a letter was written by Ḥaẓrat-i-A'lā to M. Līrī the governor of Phulcheri as follows:

"The foundation of peace between us was strengthened by this condition, namely, there must be friendship with our friends and enmity to our enemies. This agreement of ours was in conformity with the pleasure of the Pādshāh. Nawwāb Ṣalābat Jang, contrary to the pleasure of the Pādshāh, poisoned the senior brother of Nawwāb Nāṣir Jang, namely, Nawwāb Āṣafu'd-Dawla Ghāziu'd-Dīn Khān Bahādur, who had arrived from Delhi from the court of Sultan, with the appointment as the *nāẓim* of the Deccan, and thus earned the displeasure of the Pādshāh. Hence your association with Nawwāb Ṣalābat Jang is not in conformity with our peace treaty. It behoves that you sever your relation with the Deccan and recall M. Bussy to Phulcheri."

M. Līrī wrote in reply:

"At present M. Bussy is not dependent on us. He is a servant there on his own account. In these circumstances, I submit that the employee of the ruler of the Deccan will not obey the commands of the governor at Phulcheri."

After seeing this reply Ḥaẓrat-i-A'lā wrote thus to Ṣalābat Jang:

"It is learnt from the letter of M. Līrī that M. Bussy is an employee in the government of the Deccan and has attained the position of a trustworthy servant. It will not be liked by the Delhi Pādshāh to entertain members of that community in service, for they murdered your noble brother Nawwāb Nāṣir Jang Shahīd; it is not in keeping with your loyalty to select them as your companions, it is incongruous with your brotherly devotion, and it is incumbent on you to avoid mixing up with these people."

Nawwāb Ṣalābat Jang informed Ḥaydar Jang and M. Bussy of the contents of this letter and did not reply. On

the contrary he deemed it proper on the advice of the above councillors to write a letter conveying friendship with Sirāju'd-Dawla Bahādur, the *nāẓim* of Bengal, in respect of the English factory at Calcutta and dispatched it with presents. Sirāju'd-Dawla on account of his short-sightedness, sowed the seed of enmity in the field of prosperity of the times. That is, he suddenly attacked the factory of the English, under the pretext of his claim over a Gujrati money-lender who on account of great exaction had taken refuge there. In the course of the tumult, bustle and plunder, the factory was pulled down; thus he was ungenerous towards the English. Since the English did not possess in those days the strength of an army, George Becket, the governor of Chennapattan sought from Ḥaẓrat-i-A'lā, the army trained after the European manner, for the help which was imperative then. Ḥaẓrat-i-A'lā sent by ship that force along with his own army under the command of Clive. During times of necessity for the English and especially on this occasion when help was necessary, Ḥaẓrat-i-A'lā obliged them with men and money in consideration of friendship. He had not good sleep until the termination of those affairs pertaining to the factory at Calcutta; so much so he left his home and chose Chennapattan for his residence. He called his wives, his sons and relatives from Nattharnagar to Frangīkūnda. On account of these events, he postponed the important affairs pertaining to Nellore. Thus haste ended in delay.

During the time of his stay at Frangīkūnda, by the grace of the Most Gracious Lord, the Exalted Protector, the fourth son was born to Ḥaẓrat-i-A'lā by the Nawwāb Bēgam on Sunday the 26th of respectable Muḥarram of the year 1171 A.H. at 7-30 P.M. He was named Ghulām Ḥasan with the title of Ḥusāmu'l-Mulk I'timādu'd-Dawla Muḥammad 'Abdu'llāh Khān Bahādur Hizabr Jang.

When Hazrat-i-A'la was resting during that night on account of high fever, Khayrud Dīn Khan Bahadur his own brother-in-law, contrary to practice hastened into the house at about 12 o'clock in the night with a drawn sword in his hand. The women in the house were frightened, they collected themselves, shut the door, and informed Hazrat-i-A'la of the fact. Hazrat-i-A'la took in his hand the scimitar which was kept under the pillow and got out the other way tearing the *saracha*. He called out to the *chawkīdār* and took him from the *chawkī-khāna* into the palace along with some other sepoys, pointed out the direction where Khayrud Dīn Khan stood, and ordered them that he must be brought without any injury. In the meanwhile the Khān reached the sleeping apartment of the Nawwāb and enquired in a loud tone "Where is Nawwāb Begum? Where does Ḥazrat-i-A'lā sleep?" Immediately the men sent by Hazrat-i-A'la reached that spot, took away the sword from his hand, and kept him in confinement in a separate tent. Hearing that event, George Becket reached the presence of Hazrat-i-A'lā the next day, and learning the details in person, submitted that according to the rules of English administration, such culprits ought to be gibbeted, and sought permission to hang him and thus punish him for his act. Ḥazrat-i-A'la said that it was his duty to forgive him because of his being the brother-in-law and out of regard for the feelings of his sister. In short, the Khān was set free afterwards.

King of France builds castles in the air after his conversation with M. Dupleix about Hindustan; he appoints M. Lally to subjugate it, and dispatches M. Kandīstān, his nephew, in the company of M. Lally to sit on the throne of Hind.

When M. Dupleix started from Phulcheri under the pressure of M. Godeheu and reached home by ship, he spent one full year in humiliation[1] and in a forlorn condition on account of the displeasure, and reproach of the Pādshāh, and the prohibition to enter the *darbār*. Finally he wrote a petition describing in detail the following: his great deeds; his valour in subjugating the kingdom of Hind and the Deccan, conquering the fort of Chennapattan, and defeating Muḥammad Maḥfūẓ Khān Bahādur when he had come to help the English in obedience to the command of his father Nawwāb Sirāju'd-Dawla Anwaru'd-Dīn Khān Bahādur, the *nāẓim* of Arcot; his strengthening of the fortifications of Phulcheri during the war with Ḥaẓrat-i-A'lā who helped the English; his association with Hidāyat Muḥiyyu'd-Dīn Khān; his labouring hard to bring about the death of Nawwāb Sirāju'd-Dawla Anwaru'd-Dīn Khān Bahādur, the malicious supporter of the English, and weaken the English community by means of the strength of his fist; his labours in subjugating the kingdom of the Carnatic, murdering Nāṣir Jang, the wazīr of Hind, who had come to help Ḥaẓrat-i-A'lā, installing Hidāyat Muḥiyyu'd-Dīn Khān on the throne of the Deccan, and sending a select army in his company so that he might join the French; his bringing under his own control the distant parts of the kingdom of the Deccan; the establishment of the authority of the French from Phulcheri to the shores of the Narbada; and other endeavours for the advantage of the Pādshāh and the credit of his own race,

(1) For details about M. Dupleix's reception in France and his subsequent life, *see* G. B. Malleson, *History of the French in India*, pp. 430-31.

besides his own lamentation, misery, and troubles instead of approbation and demonstrations of love. Such a petition was written in detail and submitted to his own Pādshāh. The latter invited his nobles, councillors, and ministers, and regretted in their presence what had happened, pardoned M. Dupleix, and admitted him to his *darbār*. Once again the Pādshāh ascertained the real facts from the mouth of M. Dupleix who narrated as follows:

"The whole country of Hindustan with its abundant wealth and property is without a ruler or a governor, a wazīr or a sultan. It is a house where booty is deposited, and it will be ours without any doubt or difficulty provided there is a little but firm endeavour on our part. On that empty *maydān* who has the power to oppose us? The Mahrattas with their vast territory and sepoys who run about incessantly like winged insects and reptiles, may be likened to jackals in a forest devoid of tiger, and one cannon-ball from our flaming cannon is sufficient to disperse their entire army. But in the Carnatic, Nawwāb Muhammad ʿAlī Khān (Hazrat-i-Aʿlā) is a blood-shedding sword; he is a storm on every battle-field and *maydān* creating a scene of the judgment day; he is a fire that will quickly catch the heap of the enemy's army. In opposition to him there is neither a place to stand on the battle-field nor a way to flee from it. If we are to lose life it must be by opposing him; if we are to become weak, it will be by fighting against him. But this would have been so if we had no influence in the administration of the kingdom of the Deccan. At present the knot of this task can be untied without any endeavour or trouble since that kingdom and its ruler are under our control."

On listening to this varnished account of the deceitful devil the French Pādshāh broke the thread of his patience and dignity. His mouth began to water on account of the greed for the sweets of the kingdom of Hind and thus he poured the dust of calamity on the healthy head of his own community.

That is, he girded up his loins to break the treaty without considering the consequences of his action, and dashed the enamel of wisdom against the stone of such wrong-thinking. He dispatched to Phulcheri a leader of brave *sardārs*, M. Lally by name, with promises to increase his *manṣabs* (useless ones!) giving him command over a well-organised army composed of *zangs* and *frangs* and equipped them with necessary implements of war, for the purpose of destroying the foundation of his own stability. He also sent along with him his nephew M. Kandīstān[1], one of the well-known nobles, so that he might occupy the throne of Hind after its subjugation, and carry on the administration of the country as his representative. When this noble reached the country of Hindustan in the company of M. Lally, he elected, in a short while, to administer the kingdom of bondage and chain.

M. Lally starts with M. Kandīstān from home, their arrival at the port Maskarīn, and halt at that place to collect provisions and army; M. Sapīr[2], a sardār, was appointed as commander of an army and sent in advance to Phulcheri to break the peace; he arrives at the port, breaks the peace, marches against the fort of Chettupat, and subjugates it.

M. Lally in obedience to the commands of his sovereign started with a large army, implements of war, and provisions in the company of M. Kandīstān, the nephew of the Pādshāh, with the vain idea of seating him on the throne of Hindustan, and

(1) Kandīstān may be identified with Count d' Estaing who along with other nobles accompanied M. Lally. One of the ancestors of d' Estaing saved the life of Philip Augustus in 1214 A.D.

(2) M. Soupire was sent from France with about 1,0C0 men of the regiment de Lorraine. Soon after his arrival at Pondicherry in September, 1757, he did not take advantage of his position; but merely waited for the arrival of M. Lally in April, 1758.

reached the well-known port Maskarīn (Mascareigne). There he anchored for the purpose of collecting other forces, implements, provisions, cannon and other things necessary for war. He selected M. Sapīr, an ingenious and intelligent *sardār*, backed him with a brave army, and dispatched him to Phulcheri at the time when Ḥaẓrat-i-A'lā, according to the facts related in the previous pages, was firm in his resolve to help the English at any cost on account of the declaration of war by the ruler of Bengal, and had dispatched by ship to Calcutta Clive, with all the forces kept in various forts and other places of the Carnatic, along with his own body of troops except that which was necessary to guard the fort of Natthar-nagar. The English also, on account of that important happening mentioned above, had nothing more than the army necessary for the defence of the fort of Chennapattan. M. Sapīr reached Phulcheri, and declared war. On the appearance of this unexpected danger in the absence of the army, there arose rebellious enemies on all sides; Muḥammad Najību'l-lāh Khān Bahādur had joined the French with the army of the *ṣūba* of Nellore; Ghulām Murtaẓā Khān the *qil'adār* of Vellore, the brother-in-law (wife's sister's husband) of Ḥusayn Dōst Khān and the father-in-law of Riẓā 'Alī Khān and every one of the nobles of the Nāiṯ community who possessed *jāgīrs* and forts came out with his army, troop after troop, from every nook and corner, like fire from ash, and serpent from slough, and reached Phulcheri dancing and jumping; Ḥaydar 'Alī Khān known as Ḥaydar Nāyak—an account of him has been briefly given in the course of narration about Nandraj whose position he had usurped and who captured the territory of Murari Rao,—shot forth from another side; the zamindars and palayagars in the kingdom of the Carnatic rebelled against the *sarkār*, and joined Riẓā 'Alī Khān with their forces; the orders of Ṣalābat Jang also arrived supporting the French; M. Bussy marched from Chicacole with his large army and joined M. Lally; Riẓā 'Alī Khān with his

mad claim of hereditary right to the government of the Carnatic, tore off the collar of discretion; about these things Ḥaẓrat-i-A'lā became thoughtful.[1]

At the instigation of Riẓā 'Alī Khān and Ghulām Murtaẓā Khān and in the hope of obtaining the vast amount of wealth believed to be stored in the fort of Chettupat from remote times, M. Sapīr, drew up his army, attacked, and cannonaded it[2], because its *jāgīrdār*, Mīr Asadu'llāh Khān, unlike other *jāgīrdārs*, had joined Ḥaẓrat-i-A'lā. The latter broke his finger nails in untying this knot, yet he was helpless on account of the deficiency of forces. According to the plan and support of his friends, M. Sapīr quickly attacked the fort, subdued it and spared not even a child of the besieged. After the visitation of this calamity, and the enmity of the Nāiṭs, the *qil'adār*—formerly *dīwān* of the Nawwāb Ṣafdar 'Alī Khān Shahīd, put in prison by Ghulām Murtaẓā Khān, released by Ḥaẓrat-i-A'lā and appointed as his *nā'ib* of the *ṣūba* of Arcot—thought it inadvisable to stay at Arcot, joined the company of Ḥaẓrat-i-A'lā at Frangīkūnda and stayed there comfortably. But his property comprising cash, gold, silver and precious stones treasured for years, passed into the hands of the French. It was divided equally into three portions: one portion was given to the *sardār* of the army, one to the sepoys, and one to Riẓā 'Alī Khān. In short, during that period marked with change of circumstances on account of the superiority of the French, the smallness of the army, the mischief of the people of

(1) M. Bussy was recalled from the north in July and actually joined M. Lally two months later. Before April, Kamāl of Nellore had thrown off his allegiance to Muḥammad 'Alī. The French had occupied Elavanasur held by an adventurer known as Mīr Ṣāḥib, formerly 'Abdu'r-Raḥmān, an ex-commandant of French sepoys. The French made a surprise attempt on Trichinopoly in June, 1757 and subsequently M. Soupire occupied Chettupat.

(2) Fort of Chettupat was captured by M. Soupire soon after he landed in 1757.

Islam, and the anxiety of the English, there became manifest to the eyes of that age, an unique condition, and the knot of difficulties broke the skilful nails of every prudent man.

M. Sapīr and Riẓā Alī Khān return to Phulcheri after the subjugation of the fort of Chettupat; M. Lally and M. Kandīstān start from Maskarīn with a big army and abundant provisions and reach the port of Phulcheri; they march with the idea of subduing Dewanampattan; its subjugation and devastation.

After the fort of Chettupat was subdued, M. Sapīr entrusted it to Riẓā Alī Khān and turned his face towards Phulcheri. M. Lally accompanied by M Kandīstān arrived at Phulcheri with abundant implements and large army. He talked enthusiastically with all the inhabitants, congratulated M. Sapīr on his accomplishing great deeds, and gave Riẓā Alī Khān the promise of the *nizāmat* of the Carnatic. Then he called a council of M. Līrī the governor of Phulcheri, M. Sapīr the commander of the army, and other nobles and addressed them as follows:

"Though I can straightaway strike at the door of Chennapattan with these implements and army I have brought with me, and though I consider it as the most imperative of all important affairs occupying the foremost place in my mind, yet I think it advisable to engage myself round about Chennapattan in view of the fact of the residence of Ḥaẓrat-i-A'lā in that place which I learnt after my arrival here and the fear I have in my mind on hearing from the mouth of M. Dupleix and other *sardārs*, about his bravery, innate sagacity, thoughtfulness and success in his undertakings. I deem it proper to engage myself round about Chennapattan till the arrival of M. Bussy with his Deccan army and the coming of Ḥaydar Alī Khān and our other allies. After the gathering of all these *sardārs* and forces, I will turn my face in that direction At

present I shall subjugate Dewnampattan which is adjacent to Phulcheri and at a distance of two *manzils* from Chennapattan."

This suggestion was agreeable to all and they nodded their assent. Next day he marched forth with the armies of the French, Alīmān, Zangbār, and other allies, and encamped with that contemptible army at Aṛyākūpam adjoining Dewnampattan. Then he laid siege to the fort[1] which was nothing more than a brick building, cannonaded it, and thus created commotion. The captain of the place, namely, the fort keeper, was frightened at the visitation of this merciless calamity and applied for speedy help to George Becket, the governor of Chennapattan, who read the letter and deliberated with the members of the council. He felt it impossible to render succour to Dewnampattan because of the smallness of the army and the absence of the major portion of it in Bengal. So he presented himself before Ḥaẓrat-i-A'lā with General Lawrence and other intelligent *sardārs*, for the untying of this perplexing knot, delivered the letter of the captain of Dewnampattan, and submitted:

"In former days the fort was preserved from the attack of the French owing to the help of the *sarkār*, and the enemy turned away in disgrace. At present, we, the devoted servants, without your lordly support, feel it impossible to repel this calamity by our endeavour."

In reply to their request, the cloud of spring, namely, the generous and kind tongue, showered the rain of gems as follows:

"In the past we had a large army and the support of the *ra'īs* of the Deccan. At present the whole army of the Deccan is sent to set right the mischief at Calcutta. The French have

(1) The subjugation of Fort St. David produced a great impression upon the minds of the country powers and upon the English who now prepared for the inevitable siege of Madras. Fort St. David fell on 2nd June, 1758. See *Dupleix and Clive*: Dodwell, pp. 162-164 and Orme, Vol. II, pp. 306-14.

become the real *ra'īs* of the Deccan. Ṣalābat Jang has nothing but the name, and he sits on the throne with their support. Therefore there can be no comparison between the past and the present. I am ready to help you in all ways, merely for this purpose, I have come a long distance from home and chosen my residence in this place I have given preference to your work over the adjustment of my affairs, to such an extent that in view of the settlement of the affairs of the factory at Calcutta, I have postponed my arrangements in the *ṣūba* of Nellore Though I have done all this, yet it behoves us to do the work befitting the circumstances, prudently, not by force. In my opinion it seems proper for us to vacate all the forts, and concentrate our strength as far as possible on the two forts of Chennapattan and Nattharnagar. Ere long our army will return from Calcutta and we will by His Grace attain our strength and power. It is certain that M. Bussy with the Deccan army and Ḥaydar 'Alī Khān will join M. Lally. Muḥammad Najību'llāh Khān and *qil'adārs* like Ghulām Murtaẓā Khān and other zamindars from the Carnatic will gird up their loins in union with the French In these circumstances we must understand that the preservation of the two forts is a blessing. At present a reply conveying the news of the hope of arrival of help from home and Calcutta and the offer of such help that is available here may be sent to console the captain of Dewnampattan."

George Becket, the members of the council, and General Lawrence valued greatly this suggestion, wrote accordingly the following letter to the captain of Dewnampattan and dispatched it.

"It is long since the English ships started from home towards these parts and the delay in their arrival is probably due to the failure of winds News had also reached us about the return of forces from Calcutta In former days the fort of Dewnampattan was preserved by the help of Ḥaẓrat-i-

A'lā when the French pressed it hard, though at that time Chennapattan also had gone into the hands of the French. Of all the amīrs of Hind and the Deccan, Ḥazrat-i-A'lā is the only helper and supporter of our community. Formerly he had the open help of the ra'īs of the Deccan and the hearty support of the Sultan, because he has the hereditary right to the niẓāmat of Arcot, which is supported by the *sanad* of Sultan. Hence the power of the enemies did not succeed. Even now we are to be a little firm till help comes forth from various sides. In these circumstances it is necessary to be cool and collected and attempt to be firm in defending the fort. How long could the affairs of the French be strong, with the assistance of Riẓā 'Alī Khān, an imposter supported by no *sanad*? However they are very proud on account of their union with unsteady authority; but they will very soon find disgrace after the arrival of our army."

After dispatching this letter they vacated all the forts according to the advice of Ḥazrat-i-A'lā. Some forts were filled with gunpowder, set fire to, and blown up. Then they exerted themselves to strengthen the forts of Chennapattan and Natthaṛnagar. Of the English forces which numbered in all two thousand soldiers, one thousand five hundred men were commissioned under the command of General Lawrence to protect Chennapattan, while five hundred men under Major Prishṭan were sent to the fort of Natthaṛnagar. Of the forces of the *sarkār* two-thirds were appointed to defend Chennapattan, under the command of Abrār Khān, and Ghazanfar 'Alī Khān, the *bakhshīs* of the army and Sayyid Fataḥ 'Alī Khān, Mīr Asadu'llāh Khān and other intimate, intelligent, and skilful companions of the Nawwāb, while the remaining one-third under Sayyid Makhdūm 'Alī Khān, Sayyid 'Alī Khān, Sayyid Nāṣir 'Alī Khān and others were deputed to guard Natthaṛnagar.

On receiving the letter and learning the contents which inspired hope as well as despair, the captain of Dewnampattan was perplexed. But according to the verse, 'In times of necessity which offer you no opportunity to run away, take up a sharp sword in your hand,' the captain girded up his loins for war. The flame of the siege of the besiegers, and the exertions of the besieged were manifiest everywhere in the fort. In the meanwhile the ships that started from England conveying reinforcements for Dewnampattan and Chennapattan, at the same time when M. Lally left his own shores, were delayed owing to mishaps on the sea. Of these only six were able to come ahead of other ships and reach the harbour of Dewnampattan. On seeing them the captain felt relief but soon was distressed when the real facts about them (*i.e.*, that there was no army except two *sardārs*) became clear. Thus he found no other alternative but to fight for his life. As far as possible he laboured hard to destroy the enemy. Meanwhile, a ball from a catapult fell into the pool of drinking water which was, according to the proverb, 'the eye of life for the people in the fort.' In spite of the drying up of the pool, the falling down of the fort-walls on one side to a distance of one hundred and seventy yards, the destruction of the two towers on another side, and the accumulation of the dead bodies belonging to both the parties, every one of the besieged marched forward bravely with the zeal of valour. By chance, one of the two new *sardārs*, the pivot of strength for the people in the fort and the inspiration to the besieged, lost his life on account of being hit by a cannon-ball, and the strength of the fort was shaken.[1] Finally the doors of the fort were opened by the key of victory of the enemy. The captain of the fort

(1) M. Lally threw shells into the fort from a mortar battery with a few random shots and contrived to open a breach on May, 2[illegible]

handed over the keys to the enemy. After the subjugation and devastation of that place, the French in their false pride held up their heads to heaven.

M. Lally reaches Phulcheri after the victory at Dewnampattan; he then marches out to attack Tanjore on the advice of his councillors, plunders and besieges the vicinity of the fort of Tanjore; the helplessness of the ruler of that place; the coming of help from Nattharnagar according to the orders of Ḥaẓrat-i-A'lā, and the flight of M. Lally towards Phulcheri.

After subjugating the fort of Dewnampattan, M. Lally reached joyfully Phulcheri like a serpent to its hole dancing and jumping, and threw up his cap of proud deeds in the presence of his countrymen. M. Līrī, the governor became more intoxicated with pride than his companions, welcomed him, adored him, extolled him, and arranged merry parties. Next day M. Lally assembled a council consisting of all nobles, members of the military and civil departments and placed before them his ideas as follows:

"Of the two difficult knots, only one was untied by the skill of my experienced and resolute finger-nails. The second knot relates to Chennapattan. It has the association of the strong support of the Nawwāb Muḥammad 'Alī Khān; hence it is a more intricate knot. Will not the expectation of the Deccan army bring trouble on account of the lack of money? If I turn my face towards Arcot, possibly it may be subjugated. But there are no means to get money from that quarter and such endeavour has no advantage. In these circumstances a kingdom or a fort may be chosen so that money may be obtained by its subjugation, for money is the key to open the door of every desire and the strength of the fist to prove bravery."

All unanimously pointed out to the treasure in Tanjore. They declared that there was the possibility to acquire money either in case of establishment of peace or in the subjugation of the fort. They also added another hope that in undertaking such an important task, Nattharnagar, situated adjacent to it and devoid of any protector, might possibly be subjugated, and its subjugation meant the opening of one of the two doors of Hindustan. Through these victories, the sign of further success will become visible.

After fixing up this plan, M. Lally arranged the army afresh, got ready the implements of war and first laid his tyrannical hand on the town of Nagore[1] with his designs on Tanjore. By plundering the lamps, quilts, carpets, and other things of decoration from the shrine of his holiness Ḥaẓrat Sayyid 'Abdu'l-Qādir Ṣāḥib Nāgūrī (may Allāh purify his glorious resting place) and committing all kinds of sacrilegious acts in that holy place, he lost the strength of success from his hand.

Since mention has been made here of Ḥaẓrat Qādir Walī, it is necessary to carry the wealth of happiness to the ears of readers, and benefit them with a brief account of his story and miracles.

A brief account of his holiness Sayyid 'Abdu'l-Qādir Ṣāḥib Nāgūrī (may Allāh purify his resting place) and his miracles.

His holiness Sayyid 'Abdu'l-Qādir Ṣāḥib Nāgūrī (may Allāh purify his resting place) was a resident of Hindustan. With the permission of Sayyid Muḥammad Ghawth of Gwalior, his Pir, the most glorious saint of the day (may Allāh purify his resting place) he reached the kingdom of the Deccan,

(1) *M. Lally marched through Devikottah and Karikal early in July 1758,* and got powder from the Dutch in Negapatam and the Danes in Tranquebar. He plundered then Nagore, and sold the spoils for two lacs of rupees.

where he met the Shaykh of that time, and at his suggestion, he travelled to the Carnatic Pāyānghāt desiring to pay his respects to his holiness Sayyid Natthar Walī, may Allāh sanctify his resting place. When he came to the *qasba* of Ūntatūr in Natthamagar after marching a long distance, he removed, as a mark of respect, his turban and foot-wear. Thus bare-headed and barefooted and pronouncing the phrase, 'O! the son of the Prophet of Allāh' he made his way to the holy tomb of the saint. He paid his respects to the saint and abstained from food or sleep for three days and three nights, and thus achieved the esoteric favour. According to the direction of that holy personage, he went and resided at Nagore situated on the coast of the sea. He had a large heart and the zamindar of that place was drawn towards him and felt thankful; for, the barren minds of men grew so rich with the shower of his miracles that they became the envy of the rose-gardens.[1]

In brief, the army of M. Lally laid its hands on things belonging to the *dargāh*, and immediately got punishment; as soon as two or three men from among the plunderers placed their feet into the interior of the *dargāh*, they began to vomit blood and died there. On seeing this strange incident others refrained from plundering, returned the looted things, came out of that holy place in great confusion, and took their way to Tanjore.[2]

Pratap Singh, the zamindar, who was distressed on account of the visitation of this calamity, wrote about his own helplessness and the strength of the wicked enemy to Ḥaẓrat-i-A'lā who was then encamping with his army at Frangīkūnda. Then

(1) A few miracles recorded by the author are omitted from the translation, as they have no historical interest.

(2) M. Lally appeared before Tanjore on the 18th July; but his siege operations were slow for want of battering guns and because of dilatory negotiations for money. He effected a breach when news of an English naval victory off Karikal and their threatened advance on Pondicherry made him beat a retreat to the coast on the 18th of August.

the zamindar sent an army to encounter the enemy. This army which remained in its encampment at a distance of one cannon-shot from the enemy, ran about helplessly and gave the impression of a slaughtered animal in its movements. So the two armies came near the fort of Tanjore one pursuing the other like a wolf after a goat and camped in their respective places. To be brief, the enemy exerted his power in a siege, and effected a hole in the bank of the ditch by successive cannonading. They pulled down by shots in a short time eighty yards of the fort wall which lifted its head towards the sky being based on solid foundations. Pratap Singh on account of great terror was about to sue for peace and thus preserve his life and his belongings.

In the meanwhile Sayyid Makhdūm 'Ali Khān and Major Prishtan according to the orders of Ḥaẓrat-i-A'lā started in the night with the army of the *sarkār* and that of the English, cannon, lead, gunpowder and abundant provisions having been collected by Sayyid 'Alī Khān the *nāẓim* of Nattharnagar. They reached next day in the darkness of the night, like a soul in a lifeless body, and made themselves a balm for the wounded mind. On repairing the towers and the battlements of the fort and arranging afresh cannon and other things after the manner of warfare, the ambitious plans of the enemy were destroyed, and the oppressing hand was bound up. Pratap Singh offered thanks to Ḥaẓrat-i-A'lā in thousand ways for his kindness. On the arrival of the army of Nattharnagar and the English troops, the messengers of cannon-balls that emit fire and burn the enemy, conveyed incessantly to the besieging army and the proud M. Lally the news of the arrival of strength to the fort and at once extinguished the fire of vain ideas of the enemy. Till evening on that day it rained continuously balls from cannon and catapults on the army of the enemy in such a manner that they destroyed the two intrenchments which had

reached up to the bank of the ditch. Then night set in and Sayyid Makhdūm ʽAlī Khān and Major Prishtan came out of the fort intent on night assault, and attacked the enemy's forces from one side, and deprived them of any opportunity to strike or run. M. Lally was fighting against the army of the *sarkār*. The Tanjore army attacked from another side and the picture of existence of many was destroyed by the sharpness of the sword. In this confusion, the Kallars of Tanjore who were great experts in the art of stealing during night time fell upon the encampment of the enemy like innumerable ants and locusts, under the orders of the zamindar, and devastated the whole army world; they carried away many implements of war and other things, wounded, disfigured or mutilated more than half of the bulls and horses employed to drag cannon. Thus they created such a great confusion that the commander and his army were perplexed and did not find any remedy but to save their own lives. They left cannon and tents helplessly and in great confusion slunk away to Phulcheri. Sayyid Makhdūm ʽAlī Khān and Major Prishtan pursued[1] them a little while, slaughtered some, wounded some, imprisoned some, and then returned. The looted things of those who had run away were divided among the sepoys of the victorious army, while the cannon and implements of war were handed over to the *sarkār*. Pratap Singh praised them for their bravery and made them feel elated with great presents; he gave them an *ʽarẓdāsht* addressed to Ḥaẓrat-i-Aʽlā conveying joy on the success, and thanks for the help rendered by the Nawwāb, along with *nadhr*. Then they took leave and made their way to Nattharnagar.

(1) M. Lally repulsed a sally made on the morning of his retreat and wrote that he retreated "without victuals, money, ammunitions, barefooted and half-naked, worn out with fatigue and in despair at having been engaged in so wild an adventure."

After the defeat in the battle of Tanjore, M. Lally and Kandīstān come out once again from Phulcheri, intending to subjugate Chennapattan and the whole territory of Arcot, and install Riẓā ʿAlī Khān on the throne of Arcot.

When M. Lally reached Phulcheri from Tanjore in a rotten condition losing all the implements of war and equipage and entered it sneakingly with his horse deprived of saddle and crupper, ashamed of his own pride, his heart sank within him. With the restoration of penitent sense, and the gathering of disturbed feelings, he engaged himself after some time, to collect more things with the idea of compensating for the ignominy of all damages. On account of his weakness due to lack of money he dispatched orders to the *sardārs* in all tracts to find means for money and to collect an army.

Of these M. Bussy, after leaving the company of Ṣalābat Jang as related before, was then besieged at the fort of Golkonda by the army of the Nawwāb Niẓām ʿAlī Khān Bahādur Āṣaf Jāh II. When M. Bussy did not find in himself strength to stay there, he got out of that place with great labour and exertion and reached, after great troubles, Chicacole which was then a French *jāgīr*. After improving his condition, he joined the army of M. Lally with his own forces which contained 1,000 soldiers, 5,000 armed men, 2,000 Indian horse, making in all a total of 8,000 men. In the same manner M. Marsīn[1] came from Machlibandar with 200 *frangs*, and 800 armed men. M. Sabīn[2], from the island of Mūrs (Mauritius) with 1,000 *frangs*. M. Līr[3], M. Dalārs[4], M. Palīr[5], M. Kalīr[6], M. Datll[7],

(1) Moracire.
(2) Saubinet.
(3) de Leyrit.
(4) Guillard?
(5) Pouly.
(6) Crillon, Chevalier de.
(7) d'Auteuil.

M. Palāwal, M. Tapīl, M. Lanbīr[1], M. Dabrīl[2], M. Kardīl, M. Baṯūs and others came separately from various ports, places, and factories in India and Iran with their forces big and small and implements of war according to the extent of their ability, like rows of ants from a hundred holes, and joined the army of M. Lally. Thus the army of M. Lally approximately consisted of 12,000 *frangs,* 5,000 Zangs, 4,000 Alīmānī, 30,000 armed men, 7,000 Indian horse, besides numerous cannon and implements of war. Of the Muslim and Hindu rulers of the country Muḥammad Najību'l-lāh Khān Bahādur reached Phulcheri with the Nellore army. Though Sayyid Ghulām Murtaẓā Khān, the father-in-law of Riẓā 'Alī Khān, and the *qil'adār* of Vellore, did not enter Phulcheri and join in person the army of M. Lally yet he tried to help him with army and provisions. In the beginning of the war, some of the zamindars, all the *qil'adārs* of the Nāiṯ community, Ḥaydar 'Alī Khān, the ruler in the place of Karāchūrī Nandraj, and Murari Rao were as indecisive as the proverbial cat on the wall, as the spectators of contending parties and as the pointer of a balance which does not steady itself till the weight on both sides become equal. Finally seeing the more weighty scale-pan of the French, they joined them.

In brief, M. Lally arranged his own army and other forces that came to his help from various places. The number of the forces of the allies was inconceivable and the capacity of the *maydān* of the Carnatic became narrow. Starting from Phulcheri with a mistaken idea M. Lally first reached the fort of Warangal[3]. Then Wandwāsī and other forts, which, except Chennapattan and Nattharnagar, lay, as related above, on the way to Arcot and had been either

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(1) Landivisian?

(2) Duvelaer?

(Other names are not to be identified).

(3) Warangal? Perhaps it is a mistake for Karunguzhi.

vacated or blown up by gunpowder, were subjugated without opposition and entrusted to Riẓā 'Alī Khān[1]. Riẓā was seated on the throne of Arcot and the ministers of the court submitted to him the *nadhr* joyfully. Muḥammad Najību'llāh Khān Bahādur who joined the French hoping to get Arcot, the paternal heritage, did not like the turn of events and returned to Nellore. M. Lally after staying at Arcot for some days, and disposing of certain important affairs connected with it, took his way to Chennapattan. He subjugated the fort of Timiri and Kaveripāk situated on the way and brought them under the authority of Riẓā 'Alī Khān. When he reached the camp at Kanjī, rainy season set in and he was compelled to stay and thus the feet that were to have marched forward, sank in the mud.

At that time the wave of mischief divided the kingdom of the Carnatic among four rulers:

(1) The *ṣūba* of Arcot under the control of Riẓā 'Alī Khān;

(2) Nattharnagar under the authority of Ḥaẓrat-i-A'lā;

(3) Nellore, a dependency of Arcot under the power of Muḥammad Najību'llāh Khān Bahādur; and

(4) Tanjore, a dependency of Natthamagar was administered by Pratap Singh, the zamindar of that place.

While M. Lally stayed at Arcot, George Becket desired, according to the advice of his councillors, to commission a portion of the available army equipping them with cannon and necessary implements to go to Frangīkūnda and fight against the enemy; he thought it a prudent measure to save Chennapattan. But considering the smallness of the army, the necessity to preserve and guard the fort of Chennapattan, and the uselessness of wasting the energy on a place which is not a fort,

(1) M. Lally took in his company Riẓā 'Alī Khān, son of Husayn Dōst Khān, with the hope that he would be able to raise contributions from among the palaygars.

Ḥaẓrat-i-A'lā, out of his experience, did not like the plan, and advised him to make a stand in Chingleput[1], for it was strong and solid and would be beneficial during times of war. Becket and other *sardārs* regarded this as a good plan, and accordingly sent a small army consisting of 150 *frangs*, 350 armed men under an English *sardār*, and 500 men from the army of the *sarkār* under the command of Muḥammad Murād to Chingleput during night time and strengthened it with necessary provisions. Then George Becket and other *sardārs* engaged themselves in repairing the fort and deepening the ditch of Chennapattan.

M. Lally reaches Chennapattan and lays siege to it; the coming of the English army; the battle-array on the maydān; M. Kandīstān becomes a prisoner in the hands of the English.

After the rains had subsided M. Lally came out of Kanjī; when he had marched a distance of one *manzil*, Ḥaẓrat-i-A'lā departed from Frangīkūnda and took up his residence at Mylapore, situated at a distance of about two *kurōhs* from Chennapattan, where he lived in a building built by Muḥammad Kamāl an account of whom has already been related in the previous pages. When M. Lally had fixed his accursed encampment at Frangīkūnda[2], he divided the whole available army into a number of groups and entrusted them to *sardārs* and marched forward. General Lawrence with a small English force, and Muḥammad Abrār Khān with the army of the *sarkār* blocked

(1) Chingleput was not subjugated by M. Lally on his march from Pondicherry, as he could not spare men and time to besiege it. It was garrisoned by a body of one hundred English soldiers and 1,200 sepoys under Captain Preston.

(2) As M. Lally advanced to St. Thomas Mount, Lawrence fell back before him on the plain to the west of Madras. M. Lally entered the Black Town (George Town) unopposed on the 14th of December; the English confined their defence to Fort St. George and three fortified posts in Black Town.

the way of M. Lally with a view to give time to the inhabitants to vacate the town and reach more safe retreats. In the meanwhile, Ḥaẓrat-i-A'lā, came out of Mylapore, and took up his residence in the garden of the company (the present Government House) situated between Chennapattan and Mylapore and nearer the fort. The forces of the *sarkār* and the English which were engaged in blocking the way of the enemy encamped near the garden after the inhabitants of the town reached safe retreats. M. Lally took up his residence in Mylapore. Next day M. Lally divided afresh his whole army into four groups. One troop he kept under his command, while he entrusted the other three groups to M. Kandīstān, M. Bussy and M. Sabīna respectively. Then they all started for the four sides of the fort. Ḥaẓrat-i-A'lā left the company's garden and took up his residence with his family in the fort of Chennapattan.

On that day there was very great anxiety on account of the fact that Muḥammad Anwar with the title of Sayfu'l-Mulk, the third son of Nawwāb Bēgam, became separated from the nurses who were careless. After careful search and great anxiety the description of which is beyond the power of tongue or pen, by the grace of God one man got the child from a Hindu woman and brought him back to Ḥaẓrat-i-A'lā, who with Nawwāb Bēgam rendered thanks to Allāh, presented the man and the woman with a large sum of money, and distributed presents gladdening the hearts of the needy and the *faqīrs*, the minds of the poor and the despised.

In short M. Lally along with M. Kandīstān shut himself up for a while in the garden of the company like an owl, and his whole army surrounded the sides of the fort-wall. On the second day Ḥaẓrat-i-A'lā admitted to his presence, George Becket, General Lawrence and other English *sardārs* and addressed them as follows:

"To keep the wicked enemy disengaged is to give him opportunity to dig a mine and construct intrenchments which

may become the cause of subduing the fort. It behoves that the people of the fort exhibit a threatening attitude which will terrify the enemy, for any kind of opprobrium, namely, digging a mine or erecting intrenchments, never happened at Nātthārnagar in spite of sieges for many years. It is necessary we arrange and bring an army outside the fort and thus strike the mind of the enemy with the impregnability of the fort; and beat against the chest of the enemy's design with the brave hand."

The skilful *sardārs* approved of the plan and brought out of the fort an army consisting of 5,000 men which included horse, infantry and artillery force. That is, 500 *frangs*, 200 cannoneers, 2,300 armed men, under the leadership of General Lawrence, Colonel Darīb, Major Palīr, and Captain Māskūl; and 2,000 horse of the *sarkār* under the command of Ghazanfar 'Alī Khān and Muḥammad Abrār Khān. From various sides M. Bussy, M. Sabīna, and others with horse, armed men and *frangs*, a hundredfold more than the army of the other party, met in battle on the *maydān* which is now known as Chīnī-bāzār.[1] Both the parties did justice to their bravery and intrepidity. Especially the English with their small army fought with such vehemence that they exhausted the use of all the implements of war and put their hands on the collar of the enemy, and bit with their teeth, the neck, ear and nose of the opponents. Sitting on the summit of the tower Ḥaẓrat-i-A'lā witnessed the fight through a telescope and praised the

(1) The English under Draper and Brereton decided on a sally which led to confused street fighting on the present China bāzār Road. The English lost 200 men and 2 guns, but made good their retreat. The French lost 130 men killed and wounded; D'Estaing was captured in the beginning of the action, and Saubinet was mortally wounded. Major Polier was fatally hurt, besides several other English captains. (*See* R. O. Cambridge, *War on the Coast of Coramandel*, pp. 143-5 and D. Love's *Vestiges of Old Madras*, Vol. II, pp. 540-1.)

bravery of the soldiers. The French army did entertain neither fear nor deficiency in numbers, because of the substitution in the place of fallen soldiers. The English in spite of the clear decline of the feeble strength of the little army and the difficulty of resistance, faced the enemy with the remaining forces, simply out of fear of disgrace of retreat, and fought in such a manner that they marched back cannonading so dreadfully that the enemy lost ten men for every single man on their own side.

Hearing the march of the English forces and the blaze of the fire of fighting, M Lally and M. Kandīstān set out from their encampment in the company's garden, with great haste and joined the army. In proud dress and a gilded cap M. Kandīstān rode a fleet horse, with a golden bridle. On account of his inexperience he entered the tumult of the battle. He advanced and approached the English ranks out of the pride of his large army and the idea of the weakness and smallness of the English forces. Seeing his shining splendid uniform and the gilded cap, a beater of the drums thought him to be a big *sardār* of the enemy; he caught hold of the bridle of his horse and dragged it towards his own group. M. Kandīstān raised his hand which held a sharp sword, with the idea of punishing him. Immediately another man exhibited his agility by taking away the sword from the hand of M. Kandistān while the army surrounded him and marched fast towards the fort. On seeing this condition M. Lally raged with anger and fell upon the English with his whole army like moths on a lamp and attacked them on all sides. At this juncture Ghazanfar Alī Khān and Muḥammad Abrār Khān displayed their alertness and smartness. They came with their horse, between the two armies and let their brave swords fell on the head of the enemy and separated the two batches of soldiers who came hand to hand with each other. Thus they met with eloquent praise for their bravery and commendation for their unqualified valour and erased the name

of Rustam and Afrāsiyāb from the memory of the people of the world. Observing this condition, Ḥaẓrat-i-A'lā spoke thus to George Becket who was present at the tower.

"Most probably it seems that a chief *sardār* of the French has become a prisoner. On account of that M. Lally has girded up his loins with such tightness. It is necessary that at this juncture we send reinforcements to the army fighting outside, and also assist them by opening fire on the enemy with the cannon placed at the fort-towers, in order our army may reach us safely and victoriously."

According to the orders of the Nawwāb they sent another troop and cannonaded from the fort. In brief, the French army was defeated on account of the help and support of the two brave Khāns. Notwithstanding the death of Major Palīr, 200 English soldiers, and 300 horse of the *sarkār*, the imprisonment of fifty English men and the wound to captain Māskūl, the English reached the fort victoriously, and triumphantly capturing M. Kandīstān who desired eagerly to sit on the throne of Hindustan. On the side of the French more than 1,000 men were killed and 200 became prisoners. M. Sabīna was wounded. He reached Phulcheri in that condition and died there.

After achieving the desired victory, cannon was fired in joy from all ramparts. Musical instruments in the *nawbat-khāna* of Ḥaẓrat-i-A'lā resounded and also songs broke out from joyful assemblies. In return for the desire evinced by the drum-beater for the dress, arms, gilded cap and the horse of M. Kandīstān, which were his due for the bravery he exhibited, the drum-beater secured instead three thousand *hūn*, their price, fixed by himself, in addition to four thousand *hūn* from the boundless munificence of Ḥaẓrat-i-A'lā. The horse, dress, and arms were restored to the owner. M. Kandīstān was treated as a guest out of sympathy for his position. From the sepoy to the *sipah-dār* every one

reaped benefits according to his desire from the bounty of the Nawwāb, the nourisher of the sepoys.

On account of the perishing of his army, the imprisonment of M. Kandīstān, and the death of M. Sabīna, M. Lally coiled himself like a serpent. Next day with the pride of his great army, with perfect arrangement and great heart-burning he besieged the fort. He gave the fighters in the towers and the besieged in the fort neither breathing time nor moving space, by his continuous discharge of cannon and catapults from morning till evening and from evening till morning.

M. Lally reduces Chennapattan to difficulties, pulls down the two towers of the fort; fills up the ditch on one side of the fort; the anxiety of the besieged on account of the discharge of guns night and day. Ḥaẓrat-i-A'lā starts towards Nattharnagar by sea intending to return with army and implements according to the request and supplication of George Becket.

Next day M. Lally surrounded the fort with a flaming mind and with rage and contortion on account of the death of useful men in his army and able *sardārs* like M. Sabīna and others, and the capture of some well known and powerful men like M. Kandīstān. He gave the besieged and those who were opposing him from the towers of the fort neither breathing time nor moving space by continuous discharge of cannon and catapults all the twenty-four hours. On account of the earthquake caused by the loud thundering noise of the excessive cannonading on both sides, the water in the ditch of the fort which was saltish like sea water, became sweet, and relieved, by the grace of the Creator of water and clay, the thirst of men in the fort who found it impossible to get water from outside owing to the siege by the enemy, and had to use for two or three days, the water stored in the fort. In brief the calamities due to the cannon in the day, and the noise of

catapults in the night presented the scene of judgment day. Men were dying in great numbers. Heaps of dead bodies were accumulating in the brief time taken for the removal of one corpse, and the fort was stinking on account of a large number of dead bodies. They used the corpses, in place of bricks wherever the towers and the walls had been destroyed, along with *bānāt*, *makhmal*, and bundles of blue cloth pieces. During the night they were engaged in repairing the walls and the towers for the purpose of placing cannon over them and be ready for the war in day time. In this confusion Muḥammad Isḥāq Khān, the eldest son of Ḥaẓrat-i-A'lā, born to a wife other than the Nawwāb Bēgam, was hit by a stone from a catapult and lost his precious life. Notwithstanding the abundance of lead, gun-powder and provisions in the fort, weakness overtook the courage of the people in the fort merely on account of the shortage of fighting men and the severity of the enemy. George Becket, in agreement with the members of the council, sought the aid of Ḥaẓrat-i-A'lā to unloosen the knot. He submitted:

"Whenever our community, namely, the English, were rendered helpless they were enabled to attain their object by your help in the shape of men and money, advice and suggestion. Thanks are due for your help when the fort of Chennapattan went out of our hands on account of the superiority of the enemy; and at the time when there was weakness in the strong hand of the English, the fort of Dewnampattan was preserved by the strength of your support. This should be on the lips of the English till the hour of the judgment day. In this land where there are multitudes of enemies, we do not have, during period of anxiety, any protection or refuge except the compassionate skirt of your highness. Now we are in fear of the impregnability of Chennapattan, for there is no hope of the arrival of ships from Bengal or reinforcements from home, on which we had relied; considering the weakness of the

towers and mud walls of the fort, the infirmity and deficiency of the soldiers, the rudeness, and wickedness of the enemy, we feel like one who is bitten by a snake in India and waits for an antidote from 'Irāq. The fortune of battle depends upon the assistance of the Protector; the care of the arrangements on the field stands upon the grace of the Possessor of the world. In these circumstances a plan may be devised to improve the condition of the army and lighten the difficulties."

Ḥaẓrat-i-A'lā replied:

"From the beginning of our arrival to the *zilla* of the Carnatic, we took an interest in you; the declaration of hostility by my famous father against the French, the sacrifice of his precious life, my hereditary friendship with all of you in every difficult affair, and ungrudging help with men and money, especially my association in this war full of anxieties, notwithstanding the disregard for innumerable difficulties, the loss of life of my beloved son, the anxiety for other children and family—what else could these point to but my regard and friendship for the English community? In future, as long as I live, I have resolved to unite with the English and help them in all possible ways. According to my direction, my children also will have regard for the ways of their father and grandfather. At this juncture, had we been at Nattharnagar, we would, as far as possible, have certainly helped you with our army and provisions and those of the *zilladārs* in different districts. As we are helpless to go over there at present, we remain here with family and children and thus give proof of the manner of our friendship."

Becket submitted: "Your devoted servants take the responsibility of conveying you by sea from here to Negapatam. Thence it is in your power to reach Nattharnagar."

He replied: "We have no experience of a sea voyage. The sea air may not suit our health. Besides, it is to be considered that the ships of the mischievous enemy

are at present moving about on the sea. Hence in this journey the coast of safety does not appear in view. But I do not grudge to give up my life for the sake of your affairs, and out of consideration for your friendship, I entrust my life to fate."

After this conversation, two thousand horse under the command of Muhammad Abrār Khān, and Ghazanfar 'Alī Khān, and a body of infantry along with its sardārs and other servants high and low, were left in charge of George Becket for the defence of the fort; then Hazrat-i-A'lā said: "Those who are useful may be kept in service, the rest be allowed to go at liberty wherever they chose, and none but soldiers be permitted to remain inside the fort." After issuing these instructions, he fixed a time for his own departure[1].

George Becket felt highly thankful and grateful to the Nawwāb for the acceptance of his suggestion. Considering that French ships were coming from Phulcheri and other places to Chennapattan, Becket thought that sailing in an English ship would cause the kindling of the fire of mischief. As an expedient he hired a Walendez (Dutch) trade ship, emptied quickly its goods into the sea, without the knowledge of any one, and requested Hazrat-i-A'lā to board it. Leaving his companions, the whole army, retinue, and things, as narrated above, Hazrat-i-A'lā started alone with a limited number of servants, wives, sons and daughter,—namely, 'Umdatu'l-Umarā Bahādur, Amīru'l-Umarā Bahādur, Sayfu'l-Mulk Bahādur, Husāmu'l-Mulk Bahādur, Sultānu'n-Nisā Bēgam known as Budhī Bēgam—got into a boat placing his reliance on Allāh and reached the ship.

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(1) Governor Pigot resolved to send the Nawwāb by sea to Negapatam, with a view to protect his person and also to get rid of his attendants. The Nawwāb embarked on the 20th of December, while his cavalry escort was ordered to make its way to Chinglepet and join Preston.

Owing to the storm and the agitation of the sea there appeared such a commotion in the waters that some of the boats conveying male and female servants and attendants of the Nawwāb could not reach the ship on account of the unfavourable wind. When day dawned these boats touched the same coast; they disembarked and under the supervision of the guards of the fort they entered it. Next day men and women came out of the fort, scattered themselves disguised as *faqīrs* bound for Nattharnagar, and reached the French camp where they were preserved from cruel mischief by the blessings of the dress of *faqīrs*. They rested in the French camp for three days and on the fourth day they started towards Vellore and Arcot. After covering a long distance, they reached Vellore. Ghulām Murtaẓā Khān, the *qil'adār* of that place, learnt their condition, fed them for three days, supplied them with clothes, and fulfilled the duties of a host. Then he dispatched them to Nattharnagar with travelling provisions and equipage.

Ḥaẓrat-i-A'lā waited the whole night for the boats which conveyed his attendants and servants and at the coming of the light of morn, he put the boat of reliance on the mercy of the Lord, the Creator of the Universe, with a view to repel the disturbance that prevailed on land, and set sail in spite of the raging of the sea, and the dashing of the waves. During that stormy night a daughter was born to him. After three days, French ships bound for Chennapattan came in view at a distance and caused great anxiety. Ḥaẓrat-i-A'lā addressed his servants who were not more than three or four, *i.e.*, Mullā Faṣīhu'd-Dīn Khān the teacher, Muḥammad 'Ināyatu'llāh his foster brother, Muḥiyyu'd-Dīn 'Alī Khān the tutor to his sons, and a fourth man, also of the same profession, as follows:

"From the signals of flags, the French ships appear to be warships. Our ship is only a trading vessel and unfit for purposes of war, and without doubt it will be captured. Our honour demands that we should not become captives of the

French, and allow ourselves to be imprisoned by them. In case such an event happens we have resolved to kill first the women with the sword of honour and consign them to the waters of the sea, and then throw ourselves into the sea. It behoves you to regard our sons as your sons, liberate them from the hands of the enemy by whatever means, and entrust them to Sayyid 'Alī Khān the maternal uncle of the Nawwāb Bēgam and the *nā'ib* at the fort of Nattharnagar. 'Abdu'l-Wahhāb Khān Bahādur, our brother, must be understood as the *nā'ib* of 'Umdatu'l-Umarā till he attains the age of discretion, and strives together as far as possible to help the English."

In this manner he spoke about other matters also he had in his mind; he wrote a letter, sealed it and entrusted it to the captain who belonged to the community of Walendez, asking him to deliver it to George Becket and thus relieve himself of the responsibility of the burden of trust. In the meanwhile the French ships had come nearer, and made enquiries from the Walendez captain about him and the purpose of his journey. The captain replied that his was a trade vessel; he had reached Chennapattan *via* Isḥāqpattan (Vizagapatam) and Machlibandar; on seeing there the tumult of war he understood it impossible to sell his goods there, and so out of helplessness, he was bound for Phulcheri, a French port and trade centre for the world, with the hope of deriving profit. On learning this reply, the *sardār* of the French ship gave order to anchor his own ship so that some men might be sent to purchase necessary things for the army, and give the Walendez captain passport enabling him to go wherever he chose. At that time Ḥaẓrat-i-A'lā entrusted himself entirely to the mercy of the Supreme Lord, and took refuge in Him. Suddenly by the commands of the Commander of *kāf* and *nūn*, and the might of the Almighty about whose existence there is no doubt, a cloud arose as if it were a curtain before the eyes of the wicked, and screened the sight of one from the other, confounding the eye of dis-

crimination. By the grace of God, the wind blew violently and conveyed the ship of the Nawwāb to the coast of Negapatam covering a distance of three days and nights in three hours. Ḥaẓrat-i-A'lā offered his humble thanks to the great Almighty for the escape from such deadly danger, and relief from that unexpected calamity.

The *sardār* of the Walendez community who was the governor at Negapatam, hastily went forward and paid his obeisance by decorating the town and spreading the carpet of a vassal and the table-cloth of a warm host; he gladdened the heart of the Nawwāb by distributing special *khil'ats* and furnishing provisions. There he stayed for three days on account of the necessity to recoup the health of the Nawwāb Bēgam, who had given birth to a child, and to better his own health which had been affected by the change of climate, and thus rewarded the governor of that place for his profound devotion.

There also arrived from Pratap Singh, the zamindar of Tanjore equipments for *toshak-khāna, farrash-khāna, bāwar-chīkhāna*, and retinue and tents. At the time of departure, the Nawwāb presented a *parwāna* for a lac of rupees on the *pēsh-kash* of Tanjore. When the victorious banner brought under its shade the track adjoining Tanjore, Pratap Singh advanced to receive him and submitted to Ḥaẓrat-i-A'lā and Nawwāb Bēgam a large amount as *nadhr*. However much he importuned the Nawwāb to come into the fort and shed splendour by his stay, and thereby desired to increase his own glory, yet Ḥaẓrat-i-A'lā did not consent because of the necessity to send help to Chennapattan. But in return for all his services, and on the recommendation of the Nawwāb Bēgam, he issued an order to build a dam, *i.e.*, an *anicut* to store the water which used to flow from Kaveri to Coleroon, because the insufficient supply of water created great hardship in the territory of Tanjore. Then he marched forward.

When he approached the border of Nattharnagar, Sayyid 'Alī Khān welcomed him with the army and the servants of the Nawwāb. The Nawwāb cheered him, and honoured him, took him in his company and reached the happy Nattharnagar safely by the protection of the Eternal Lord.

The arrival of Ḥaẓrat-i-A'lā at Nattharnagar, his illness, the dispatch of the army under the leadership of Muḥammad Yūsuf Khān; 'Abdu'l-Wahhāb Khān meets him at Chittoor, assumes the command of the army according to the order of Ḥaẓrat-i-A'lā, their march to Chennapattan.

After reaching Nattharnagar Ḥaẓrat-i-A'lā fell ill on account of the change of climate he experienced on land and sea and the fatigues of the journey. His illness had made him too weak to bear the toils and exertions of leading an army and continuous journey. He arranged his own army, as well as the troops of Tirnāwīlī known as Anwarnagar (Tinnevelly), Madhra (Madura), Tajawar known as Qādirnagar (Tanjore), Rāmnath known as Walīnagar, Shīwganga known as Ḥusayn Nagar, Malīwār, Tirūr, Karūr, Pudukotah, Alyānur, Wadyārpāla (Udayardalayam) and other places, five hundred *frangs* stationed at the fort of Nattharnagar under the command of Major Prishton, his own cavalry and auxiliary forces numbering about four thousand under the leadership of Sayyid Makhdūm 'Alī Khān, seven hundred armed men, the employees of the *sarkār*, under Sayyid Nāṣir 'Alī Khān, cannon and other kinds of implements, a troop of select men, a large number of artillery men, three thousand *bēldars* under Amīn Bēg Khān, foot soldiers of the Carnatic under the employment of the Nawwāb as well as his allies numbering about sixteen thousand men under the command of Muḥammad Bēg Khān. All these forces were equipped with provisions, tents and other necessary things for the campaign and entrusted to the command of Muḥammad

Yūsuf Khān,[1] with the following order, that he must reach the taluk of Chittoor, the *jāgīr* of 'Abdu'l-Wahhāb Khān Bahādur, take him in his company, hasten towards Chennapattan, exhibit bravery to the satisfaction of the Nawwāb and attempt to stand high in his estimation. Then the Nawwāb sent him with the following letter addressed to the Bahādur:

"On account of indisposition we find it impossible at present to exert ourselves and bear the hardships of a journey. We have delegated to you the command of the army equipped with all implements, abundant gunpowder, and cannon under the supervision of Muḥammad Yūsuf Khān. We have appointed you in our place and so it is necessary that, without the delay of even a day, you should march with the army to defend Chennapattan and punish the French; arrangements must be made to block the roads so that not even a grain of corn should reach the enemy and thus reduce the besiegers to the position of the besieged, and make them feel distressed on account of the resistance of the English, as well as the whip of your chastisement. You must understand that I will be there immediately after recouping my health."

Further encouraging and refreshing letters were addressed to George Becket, General Lawrence, and other *sardārs* of the English, to Ghazanfar 'Alī Khān, Muḥammad Abrār

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(1) Yūsuf Khān reached Trichinopoly from Madura in June, 1758. He was asked to join Preston, with 2,000 sepoys and other troops from Tanjore and Pudukottah. He captured Elavanasur and Tirukoilur, cut off M. Lally's communication with Pondicherry and finally joined Preston at Chingleput. Yūsuf Khān's name, according to Sir John Malcolm, occurs 'as often in the pages of the English historian (Orme) as that of Lawrence or Clive'. He was the ablest of the Indian soldiers who fought in the early wars between the English and the French. He rendered very valuable service in the operations round Trichinopoly in 1752-54. He helped the English during M. Lally's siege of Madras. He established peace and security during his governorship over Madura and Tinnevelly.

See S. C. Hill: *Yūsuf Khān, the Rebel Commandant* (1914).

Khān, Sayyid Fataḥ ʿAlī Khān, and other servants of the Nawwāb, and were entrusted to Muḥammad Yūsuf Khān, who, in obedience to the command of the Nawwāb, started with the victorious army, covered *manzils* and reached Chittoor. He delivered the kind letter to ʿAbdu'l-Wahhāb Khān Bahādur and marched in his company towards Chennapattan. On reaching Chingleput, he left behind him his equipage, went alone to Frangīkūnda[1] with his horse and his sword, stayed in the garden of the Nawwāb, and deputed the valiant army to surround the besiegers and block the ways through which supplies could come. Consequently, not even a straw could reach the enemy, whose impudence vanished on account of great weakness. On the other hand, the affairs of Chennapattan grew strong. The bridle of courage slipped from the hands of M. Lally. With the increase of power on this side, Riẓā ʿAlī Khān lost his in all the *ṣūbas* of Arcot. The imaginary belief of the zamindars in the supremacy of the enemy, proved to be a fancied certainty; the ryots were unconcerned because they were able to hold their tenancy in peace, and the traders were equally so because of the facility in transit.

(1) Yūsuf Khān and Preston arrived at St. Thomas Mount, where they were very nearly surprised by a force under Soupire; but the latter found the defence stronger than he had anticipated, and retreated to San Thome on the 30th December, 1758. This annoyed M. Lally so much that he postponed the opening of some fresh batteries for the siege.

See Orme, *History of Indostan*, Volume II, page 401; and Love's *Vestiges of Old Madras*, Vol. II, p. 545.

M. Lally gives battle to Ābdu'l-Wahhāb Khān Bahādur and Muḥammad Yūsuf Khān Bahādur at Frangīkūnda; his defeat owing to the oppression of Major Prishtan in the battle-field; M. Lally retreats towards Chennapattan on learning the destruction of the two intrenchments extending to the edge of the ditch, by the attack of the people in the fort; the withdrawal of M. Lally from the fight at Frangīkūnda. The reconstruction of the ruined intrenchment; the night attack of Ābdu'l-Wahhāb Khān Bahādur, and Major Prishtan against the army of M. Lally encamped by the bungalow of Dāwūd Khān and its dispersal; the unsuccessful attempt of M. Lally, against Chennapattan and his departure towards Kanjī on seeing the ships from Bengal.

On account of the blocking of the roads of communication, the distressed condition of the army, and the consuming by the army of many bulls used for drawing cannon, M. Lally felt exhausted in his campaign. His repeated attempts to open the roads were in vain. The army of the *sarkār* did not encamp in a particular place, but was ever on the move encircling the accursed enemy who, therefore, got no opportunity to meet them face to face. Notwithstanding two or three small engagements, he did not get success. M. Bussy also attacked treacherously the victorious army during night time. But the commander of the army, who was on the alert, had emptied the tents and stood on one side with the army and the implements of war, waiting for an opportunity to crush the enemy. When that worthless man fell rashly upon the encampment, the commander of the Nawwāb's army found his prey, immediately came out of his ambush like a panther, and bound the striving hand of the enemy; he cut off the heads of many men, playing havoc like a lion among a herd. Thus the enemy found the inevitable defeat, left his cannon and

boxes of gun powder, and took away nothing but woeful hands and flying feet.

M. Lally found himself in a contortion of envy and malevolence, because of the valour of the army of the *sarkār,* the defeat of his own army—marked for destruction—the despair of success at the fort of Chennapattan, and the disgrace of M. Bussy. He engaged spies to report to him the favourable opportunity to fall upon the army of the *sarkār.*

'Abdu'l-Wahhāb Khān Bahādur who had gained experience in his action against M. Bussy, intended to assault the army of M. Lally during night and sent Major Prishtan to Chingleput to bring implements of war. The Major returned after a time with necessary things, five hundred soldiers, cannon, etc., and reached Frangīkūnda, while 'Abdu'l-Wahhāb Khān Bahādur himself came there in accordance with his plan, took up his residence in the garden of General Lawrence—purchased later by the *sarkār*—encamping his army at the foot of the hill mentioned above. Major Prishtan halted in the same garden to the north of the residence of the Bahādur.

M. Lally learnt through spies that the army of the *sarkār* was camping in one place, and thought it a favourable opportunity to execute his defective plan. He deputed one portion of his army—destined for destruction—commanded by trustworthy *sardārs* to engage themselves with the intrenchment and the siege of Chennapattan. Then he gathered the remaining two-thirds comprising a select group of French cavaliers and artillery men, and marched out to Frangīkūnda for a night attack. In the latter part of the early night, he slaughtered the army of the *sarkār,* plundered the equipage, and caused devastation. At dawn, M. Lally reached the *maydān,*—at present the race ground,—opposite the garden of General Lawrence where 'Abdu'l Wahhāb Khān Bahādur had halted, opened fire and pulled down one of the walls. 'Abdu'l-Wahhāb Khān Bahādur saw Muḥammad Yūsuf Khān

standing ready with his army for action, and gave the order for attack to his own cavalry which numbered more than two thousand, while he himself began to open fire vehemently, thus assisting them in their fight. The French cavalry bent down over their horses, left the reins to the winds, and engaged themselves with naked swords. They had not reached the army of the *sarkār* before Major Prishtan who was lying in wait on the northern side of the garden stretched out his hand to pull the trigger of the gun, aiming at those destined for destruction. Thus when he found the enemy within his reach, he came out of the garden wall, his lurking-place, and opened the destructive fire on the right wing of the enemy, the powder-magazine being ready at hand, and burnt them like rubbish. Muḥammad Yūsuf Khān also opened fire on the cotton of the chest of the enemy. On account of the thundering of the cannon on both their flanks the very existence of the whole of the first line of the army, most of the second and a portion of the third—who were fighting foolishly and vainly—was blown to the wind of destruction. When the remaining forces of the enemy, which escaped slaughter, retreated, the combined forces of the Major and the Khān directed their attention to repel the accursed enemy from the battle-field as a retribution for the destruction of the broad-based wall of the garden, and advanced. M. Lally, with all his loss in the morning, merely out of ignorance, was steady in the battle-field till evening to exhaust his strength.[1]

In the meanwhile when Becket, the governor of Chennapattan, a living symbol of the brave days of old, the creator of confusion in the ranks of deceitful enemy, saw M. Lally marching with two-thirds of his army to attack the forces of his ally, he considered those accursed besiegers,

(1) This was Caillaud's engagement with the French at the Mount on 9th February, 1759. For an account of the battle, *see* Love's *Vestiges of Madras*, Vol II, pp. 555-558.

sitting like mice in their holes, as nothing before the weight of his own courage, and ordered the armed forces of the English, and intelligent *sardārs*, Ghazanfar 'Alī Khān, and Abrār Khān, great men of valour and distinction, to march out of the fort. In accordance with the command of Becket, the forces, with all the available assistance from the cannon on the bastions of the fort, put forth their strength to the utmost, exhibiting their bravery to the enemy who was pouring fire, and fighting valiantly; the English displayed great zeal, and there were also the manly intrepidity and the great valour of Ghazanfar 'Alī Khān and Muḥammad Abrār Khān. Each of these two who were the foremost of the valiant soldiers on the *maydān* of battle, stretched out his hand quickly to cut down the enemy and stepped forth to destroy him. Muḥammad Abrār Khān especially gave positive proof of his bravery by his continuous musketry and his skill in the use of the spear. His walking abroad on the battlefield increased courage in the minds of others, and opened the tongues of enemy as well as friend in praise and appreciation of his skill. He destroyed the two intrenchments adjoining the ditch, pulled down the encampment of the enemy destined for destruction, broke up the union of bad characters, and then returned.

On learning this, M. Lally withdrew from the battlefield at Frangīkūnda and ran towards Chennapattan in great confusion and anxiety. With great endeavour he rebuilt the destroyed intrenchments with fresh materials. By the flash of the lightning of the clouds of cannon, he poured the fire of jealousy on the fort; the defenders in the fort also were outstripping them in cannonading, so that the cannon-balls proceeding from both sides collided with one another and each served as the target for the other. In short, on account of the raining of cannon-balls and stones from catapults, the buildings outside the fort were destroyed. The crisis of the fort reached

such an extent that it seemed as though it would be subjugated by the French in a day or two and taken out of the possession of the English. In the meanwhile 'Abdu'l-Wahhāb Khān Bahādur and Muḥammad Yūsuf Khān—who after the withdrawal of M. Lally from the battle-field at Frangīkūnda and his march towards Chennapattan on hearing the devastation of intrenchments, had offered their thanks to the Almighty Fattāh, and out of necessity to leave the wounded and give rest to them, and to get ready some implements, gone to Chingleput, —returned with Major Prishtan during the night, attacked a body of the enemy which was sleeping with some implements, at a place adjoining the bungalow of the Nawwāb Dāwūd Khān, and plundered cannon, guns, gun-powder and other equipment. On account of these successive losses, the people in the army of the enemy experienced great suffering for want of provisions[1]. Especially this was unbearable on the following day to every one in the accursed army. The English army had plenty of provisions, and did not have the least anxiety on that account, in spite of the severe attack by the French and their own exertions by day and night.

M. Lally assembled the intelligent councillors and opened before them the book of his heart:

"I took leave of our Pādshāh with the promise of subjugating Hind and thus reached this country. My first blow was at Dewnampattan and I attained my wish on its subjugation. But however much I poured the sweat of my endeavours and the blood of my affectionate companions in the course of the attempt and exertion to subjugate Chennapattan, yet I have to lag behind because of the firmness of the people of the fort, the stubbornness and briskness of the army of Nattharnagar and

(1) M. Lally was always afraid of the skirmishes of Yūsuf Khān whose men were "like the flies, no sooner beat off from one part, but they came to another."

the blocking of the roads of communication, and the consequent distressed condition of the army. Advise me, so that I may achieve success; show me a way so that I may proceed to find a remedy."

Considering his bad temper all kept silence, deliberating a suitable reply. But M. Bussy raised his absurd voice to give a foolish reply to that impossible question.

"In this highly distressed condition, namely, the destruction of the army and the famous soldiers, the poverty, the certain failure, spiritlessness, the starvation of the sepoys, and the appearance of the countenance of destruction, it is fit to abandon the vain idea of besieging and subjugating the fort of Chennapattan. On account of various reasons, it is difficult at present to subdue that single fort. After the subjugation of the kingdom of the Deccan, which will soon become ours with a little endeavour, it will not take long for us to subjugate Chennapattan."

M. Lally replied,

"I am afraid of the connection of Muḥammad 'Alī in this affair, for I have seen and measured his sagacity and courage which is more than I imagined from the description of M. Dupleix. Again, he is a dear ally of the English, and possesses a sincere understanding with them. As long as these two strong enemies are there, they will never allow us to execute our idea against the Deccan. We shall achieve nothing but disgrace. It is also certain that under these conditions they will uproot the fort of Phulcheri—the foundation of mischief,—and then it will become impossible for us to take possession of it. It is necessary that we first turn our attention to repel these two enemies."

Thus after building castles in the air and seeing the weakness of the army, M. Lally loaded during the night in strict secrecy, all his weighty implements in boats, and sent them to Phulcheri. In the belief that two towers and one wall on the

side of the fort were demolished, he gave order for assault during that night[1], so intensely dark that it did not permit the eye to recognise any one. On account of the ignorance of those foolish besiegers, the intelligent defenders in the fort, under the protection of the debris of destroyed walls, piled up the dead bodies of brave men, collected bricks and clay, strengthened the wall and the tower to a considerable extent, and mounted cannon over them. As soon as the enemy began the attack, they exhibited bravery to such an extent by the discharge of cannon and muskets and the play of swords and spear-heads, that the story inspires till this day reverence in the mind of the valorous enemy and boldness in the minds of brave friends. They were so overpowered with zeal that they did not feel the smallness of their own numbers, and the superiority of the enemy's army; they thought that the filling up of the ditch with the slain was opposed to their self-respect, and considered it contrary to the verity of their intrepidity. They believed it was useless to take refuge within the fort, and considered it a shameful violation of the principles of war to arrange the defending forces within the fort. So they pushed back the enemy and advanced. Till 9 o'clock in the day, it was so dark owing to the mist, that they thought it was night, and never gave rest to hand or sword. So engrossed were they with the idea to dash forward and repel the enemy, that they never allowed even the normal rest to the feet.

In short M. Lally was disappointed and discomfited in his attempt because of the disgrace of losing the implements of war, the loss of honour in the death of many men of the army and intelligent *sardârs*, the low spirits and the hunger of sepoys, the shame of failure, loss and destruction. On the same day and in the midst of such confusion he spied three ships approaching and by means

(1) This refers to the sally made by M. Lally on the morning of 14th February when he set fire to Chepauk.

of a telescope he recognised them to be English ships. He understood that it was impossible to stay there further; he left his heavy equipage, lost his senses, and ran towards Kanjī. 'Abdu'l-Wahhāb Khān Bahādur and Muḥammad Yūsuf Khān Bahādur, were ready with swords and the army of the *sarkār* to loot the fugitive. In the meanwhile, Becket sent the following message: "Suspend your hostilities for a while, I shall send you an army, so that you may strike at the root." So the Khāns deemed it advisable to suspend the pursuit of the enemy.

The particulars about the ships; the enemy turns his face towards Kanjī; Colonel Coote lands with the army; 'Abdu'l-Wahhāb Khān gets ready necessary things, his own army and that of the English, and starts in pursuit of the running enemy.

For a long time it had been the custom in the countries of the hostile nations, the English and the French, that when one of the two contending parties set sail with its war ships in any direction, the other party also sent out its own ships of war for the protection of its own ports. According to this practice when M. Lally took leave of his Pādshāh and set sail with an army towards Phulcheri, intent on war, Colonel Coote, the English *sardār*, started from England with an army, to protect Chennapattan and other ports in Hind, belonging to the English.

Long after this mischief came to an end Colonel Coote again arrived in this land from Bengal with the title of General Sir Eyre Coote, got from his Pādshāh, and with the commission to fight against Ḥaydar 'Alī Khān.

Colonel Coote who started from England lagged behind being hindered by unfavourable winds and other impediments which confronted him in different places, while M. Lally had reached Phulcheri nine months earlier and as described above he

subjugated and devastated at the first blow Dewnampattan, and hastened to Tanjore, but found the disgrace of defeat and reached Arcot. Then he laid siege to Chennapattan and created great confusion. But on the arrival of the army of the *sarkār*, the fortunes were reversed. On account of the scarcity of provisions and desertion of a large number of men, M. Lally poured the dust of shame and despair on the head of his hopes. Just when the cord of his desire was broken owing to his attack on the fort and the failure, three ships arrived from Bengal[1]. On seeing them M. Lally left his heavy equipage and ran away towards Kanjī in great confusion. After this the besieged in the fort of Chennapattan found their salvation from the calamity of the siege, opened the doors of the fort and congratulated one another.

Colonel Coote reached the fort as soon as his ships had anchored. 'Abdu'l-Wahhāb Khān Bahādur and Muḥammad Yūsuf Khān Bahādur received George Becket and Colonel Coote with great joy. The army in the ship landed and collected outside the fort. Then, according to the suggestion of George Becket, 'Abdu'l-Wahhāb Khān Bahadūr wrote an *'arẓdāsht* to Ḥaẓrat-i-A'lā.

'Abdu'l-Wahhāb Khān Bahādur, in accordance with the desire of Becket, got ready, with great quickness, bulls to drag cannon, beasts of burden, tents and other necessary things, from every quarter, by his own alertness and vigour. Then a big well-equipped army started under the command of Colonel Coote accompanied by the armies of by 'Abdu'l-Wahhāb Khān

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(1) On the evening of February 16th, six sails were descried to the northward which anchored at 8 P.M. The French abandoned their camp at San Thome and ordered their outposts to join at the Powder Mill with a view to retreat the next morning. M. Lally, had, in reality, taken the resolve to retreat, two days before the ships appeared. Their opportune arrival hastened the retreat and doubtless saved the Black Town from destruction (Love—*Vestiges of Old Madras*, Vol. II, p. 551). M. Lally retreated to Conjeevaram and Arcot where he arranged for the provisioning of the army.

Bahādur, Muḥammad Yūsuf Khān, Ghazanfar 'Alī Khān, and Muḥammad Abrār Khān. They reached Kanjī and fixed their standards opposite the temple of Kanjī where M. Lally had encamped with his army. Small engagements between the two forces, took place now and then, but they were indecisive. This state of affairs continued till one day Muẓaffar Khān—formerly a servant in the government of Ḥaẓrat-i-A'lā for a long time, who had risen from a low position to the dignity of the title of Khān and then run away, joined the French on account of his past acquaintance with them, obtained from them the post of *fawjdār* of Indian horse, and was extremely proud of his position—brought large provisions escorted by sepoys. On hearing this news, 'Abdu'l-Wahhāb Khān Bahādur sent on one side Ghazanfar 'Alī Khān and Muḥammad Abrār Khān with a select body of horse, and on the other side Muḥammad Yūsuf Khān with a strong army, and thus hemmed him round. When M. Lally set out to rescue Muẓaffar after receiving information of his helplessness and weakness, 'Abdu'l-Wahhāb Khān Bahādur himself shot forth with the army of General Coote to assist the Khāns. The severity of the fight created such a commotion that the English and the French troops met each other, horse against horse, group against group and fought unaided by others. In the course of the fight throughout the day the hand did not find rest from striking and slaughtering and the feet did not abstain from advancing. During this commotion, Muẓaffar Khān was slaughtered along with many of his companions by the swords of Abrār Khān and the courageous soldiers of the victorious army. Provisions which were in abundance came into the hands of the brave soldiers. On the whole some Muslim warriors were killed and wounded; Balton, and some brave and devoted English soldiers died. When the heavens drew on their forehead the blood of the wounded day, in the shape of evening twilight, and the sword of sun was put to

rest in the sheath of the west, victory and triumph were the companions of the *sarkār*, and defeat and distress caused the flight of the worthless enemy. That is, with all the wail over the slaughter and the wound to many *sardārs* of the army M. Lally[1] hastened to Kanjī to take refuge where also he did not find courage. So he ran away to Arcot, while the resounding of the musical instruments played by the victorious army conveyed to the ears of the universe the news of happiness.

M. Lally dispatches M. Bussy to seek the help of Basālat Jang; M. Bussy brings him from Adhoni; Basālat Jang retires after the receipt of letter from Ḥaẓrat-i-A'lā, yet sends Dhu'l-Faqār Jang along with M. Bussy. Both these join the army of M. Lally; Arshad Bēg Khān comes with the army to help 'Abdu'l-Wahhāb Khān Bahādur; the capture and subjugation of the fort of Wandwāsī and other forts and districts of Arcot.

After the flight of M. Lally towards Arcot, 'Abdu'l-Wahhāb Khān Bahādur occupied the temple at Kanjī. On seeing the walls in a dilapidated condition, he carried out necessary repairs and thus strengthened them. He deputed for its defence an army under an experienced *sardār* of the *sarkār* and an English troop with lead, gunpowder, and other necessary provisions in abundance. He appointed as *qiladār*, 'Abdu'l-Ḥayy Khān by name, the sister's son of Muḥammad Maḥfūẓ Khān Bahādur, whose genealogy had already been recorded, commanding him to collect money, gather provisions and send cattle for the purpose of food to the soldiers of the Pādshāh.

Leaving at Kanjī superfluous equipage, 'Abdu'l-Wahhāb Khān Bahādur hastened towards Arcot with Colonel Coote

(1) For details of M. Lally's flight, *see* Orme, *History of Indostan*, Vol. II, p. 452.

pursuing M. Lally like a lion after its prey and pitched his victorious tents on this side of the river, facing the enemy. M. Lally reached Arcot earlier and posted his army to strengthen the flanks. In view of the increasing strength of the *sarkār* day by day and the decline of his own splendour, he called for a council and sought the opinion of his wise and prudent councillors. M. Bussy, who spoke last, suggested that he would seek an interview with Basālat Jang and apply for his help; thus he put a plaster to the wound of M. Lally, who approved of it.

M. Bussy started with letter and presents. He met Basālat Jang[1] at Adhoni, his *jāgīr*, and submitted the letter and presents. With the art of winning the hearts of friends and blowing the incantation of Satan he opened the tongue of solicitation to excite temptation and greediness. Basālat Jang was deceived. He got ready to help the French, came out of Adhoni with his army, and marched towards Arcot. Ḥaẓrat-i-A'lā got information of this fact and wrote a letter of advice embellished with various reflections. He entrusted that letter to a messenger with strict instructions and kind and generous admonitions.

Letter of Ḥaẓrat-i-A'lā to Basālat Jang.[2]

The chain of goodwill should increase day by day and not be spoiled by the intrigue of enemies. It is necessary for us to enquire diligently and investigate carefully every affair.

I have taken vengeance on Ḥusayn Dōst Khān for the murder of my father. Now with the idea of exacting retribution for the murder of the Nawwāb Nāṣir Jang I have put to death many brave French soldiers. I have no other aim but to repel these pernicious French and pull down their fort. In

(1) Basālat Jang was the younger brother of Ṣalābat Jang who granted him the *jāgīr* of Adhonī. Basālat Jang died in 1782.

(2) Summary of the letter and the reply is given.

these circumstances I think it will be ruinous for you to come to the Carnatic depending upon the French. If Nizām 'Alī Khān Āṣaf Jāh II had considered their friendship useful he would not have-engaged himself to expel them from the country. Hence you should consider well before you act. Also you should not believe the promises made by the French.

Basālat Jang read this letter carefully going deep into every word. He described to those present the wisdom and bravery of Ḥaẓrat-i-A'lā and felt thankful for the knowledge he gained of the real state of affairs and wrote a reply expressing his thankfulness for Ḥaẓrat-i-A'lā. Then he sent away the messenger presenting him with cash and *khil'at* and himself returned to Adhoni.

Reply of Basālat Jang.

I am very happy and thankful for your kind letter. You are experienced in the art of administration and well acquainted with every affair. I deem advisable whatever you think proper. I have not acceded to the request of the French. I hope you will be sending me such kind letters.

When Basālat Jang returned to Adhoni he reconsidered the request of M. Bussy, made a sign to Dhu'l-faqār Jang to assist and accompany M. Bussy with six or seven thousand horse, belonging to himself and to the Mahratta *jāgīrdār* in the area of Adhoni, and proclaimed that Dhu'l-faqār, out of regard for his past friendship with the French, had started out to assist them on his own account without the permission of Basālat Jang.

After the arrival of M. Bussy and Dhu'l-faqār Jang, M. Lally became conceited, set out with his army from the fort and posted himself on the bank of the river, opposite the encampment of the *sarkār*, the intermediate space being the width of the river. On hearing of the arrival of Dhu'l-faqār Jang, Ḥaẓrat-i-A'lā sent Arshad Bēg Khān, his trustworthy servant,

with an army composed of horse, infantry and artillery. Further he strengthened and prepared the army of 'Abdu'l-Wahhāb Khān Bahādur. In brief, when the two armies met, they sometimes fired cannon, sometimes embroiled with each other, sometimes engaged themselves in sword fight, and sometimes struck against each other during the time of reconnoitering at night, and waited for an opportunity to come off with success. Eventually the exalted Nawwāb Ḥaẓrat-i-A'lā got information of these affairs and despatched letters to George Becket, the Governor of Chennapattan, Colonel Coote, the *sardār* of the English army, 'Abdu'l-Wahhāb Khān Bahādur, and other *sardārs* of the *sarkār* with the following contents:—

"To leave the enemy to his own condition, and permit him to enjoy leisure during the period of war, will mean that he will try to collect forces from distant places, and replenish himself with arms, and implements and thus acquire fresh strength; it will prolong the war, cause heavy expense to the *sarkār*, bring about loss and affliction to the subjects and will ruin the affairs of the kingdom. In these circumstances it is preferable to act as quickly as possible."

The *sardārs* of the army in obedience to the command of Ḥaẓrat-i-A'lā, and also on receipt of letter from the Governor of Chennapattan who conveyed the order of Ḥaẓrat-i-A'lā, deliberated together, marched out at midnight, attacked the fort of Wandwāsī, which was on the way to Phulcheri, an asylum for the sick and the wounded and the storehouse of abundant implements belonging to the French. They cannonaded to breach one side of the fort wall. Muḥammad Taqī 'Alī Khān the brother-in-law of Ḥusayn Dōst Khān, the *jāgīrdār*, and a well-wisher of the French, was busily engaged along with the French army in guarding the demolished wall. In the meanwhile, Muḥammad Abrār Khān and Arshad Bēg Khān climbed by means of ladders the wall on the other side where there was not the least suspicion in the people of the fort because of its

strength and height that reached the sky. By the grace of the Great Opener they subjugated it. The *jāgīrdār*, the French forces, and others inside the fort became prisoners. The victorious army then attacked the fort of Karnagal and captured it from the French. Thence they turned towards Timirī, Kaveripāk[1] and Chettppattu and cleared those forts of the thorn and rubbish of the mischief of the enemies. Then they chose the good *maydān* of Kanjī and rested there in comfort.

M. Lally attacks the fort of Wandwāsī; Abdu'l-Wahhāb Khān Bahādur and Colonel Coote fight against him; the imprisonment of M. Bussy; the death of Dhu'l-faqār Jang; the flight of M. Lally to Phulcheri via Chenjī.

As the forts and the districts on all sides were subdued by Ḥaẓrat-i-A'lā and every place was strongly garrisoned by the *sarkār* and the English, M. Lally understood that the way of hope was closed. He felt wounded in his heart and assembled a council of his ministers. Every one gave his opinion according to his sagacity to get back the portion that had gone out of hands. M. Bussy spoke thus:

"The fort of Wandwāsī[2] lies between Phulcheri and the army, and is comparatively more important than all the other forts; to allow it to remain in the possession of the enemy will be detrimental in various ways. It must be our prime motive to keep it in our hands for the purpose of keeping the roads clear. Muḥammad Taqī Alī Khān, its *qil'adār*, our well-wisher, is in the hands of the enemy as a prisoner; as we are helpless at present to liberate him, it befits our good name and prestige to put his son in his stead as *qil'adār* and thus give

(1) Karunguzhl and other places were also captured soon, and Kaveripāk was taken by the English even in July.

(2) For details about the battle of Wandewash, *see* Orme, Vol. II, pp. 577, Morland's *Bailie ki Paltan* (1930), pp. 8, *et seq.*

proof of our trustworthiness and humanity. Consider it the best opportunity to expedite this affair at present; for it is our good luck that the enemy is far away taking rest at Kanjī. It will be the best policy to attack the fort during night, for by the time the enemy comes to know of it and girds up his loins, we can subjugate it."

On the approval of all the other councillors, M. Lally also agreed to this as a suitable plan. Then, with this useless idea, he started during night from Arcot with his whole army and laid siege to the fort. Imagining that he was skilful in his work and desiring eagerly to bring his score to equality with the *sarkār's*, he opened fire vigorously and exerted himself uselessly in a way that fails description. But 'Abdu'l-Wahhāb Khān Bahādur and Colonel Coote had stored there every kind of provision necessary for the army, and had deputed experienced men, both English and Indian, in view of their own absence and the certainty of treachery of the French. These men, namely the servants of the *sarkār* and the English, took a firm stand, rained fire, and scattered the bodies of impudent men as ashes to the wind of destruction. Thus the calculations of M. Lally went wrong. After a series of attacks he achieved nothing but sorrow at the loss of his army. However much this helpless man put forth the strength of his labours to run against the intrenchment, he did not achieve anything but the disgrace of failure. Immediately after hearing this news 'Abdu'l-Wahhāb Khān Bahādur, and Colonel Coote, marched out with their army, stationed themselves at the foot of the hill of Wandwāsī, and divided it into many troops: one troop, composed only of the soldiers of the Pādshāh, was commanded by Colonel Coote; another, the soldiers of the company under the English *sardārs*; the third, Indian sepoys under Muḥammad Yūsuf Khān; the fourth and fifth consisted of horse of the *sarkār*, under Ghazanfar 'Alī Khān and Muḥammad Abrār Khān. These were appointed to fight against the enemy and were equipped with cannon and

other implements. The sixth troop which consisted of the infantry of the Carnatic, under Arshad Bēg Khān was left behind with some cannon, to guard the camp at the foot of the hill. Then all marched forward. When the *sipahdār* of the day with golden rays (*i.e.* sun) had marched some distance from the eastern horizon towards the *maydān* of the sky, beautifying the glorious army, they halted opposite the enemy's forces, at a distance where the standards of each other might be recognised. Then 'Abdu'l-Wahhāb Khān Bahādur posted the first and second troops which consisted of the soldiers of the Pādshāh and the company, to the right and left of the Indian sepoys under Muḥammad Yūsuf Khān, and the two troops of horse under Ghazanfar 'Alī Khān and Abrār Khān to the right and left of these three troops, according to the regulations of war; while a body of two hundred or more were placed, as usual, with two or three cannon in the rear, as reserve. 'Abdu'l-Wahhāb Khān Bahādur, a sword in his hand that would open the heart of the enemy, rode a horse swift as wind, in the company of Ghazanfar 'Alī Khān.

M. Lally ordered those who were deputed to be at the intrenchment to engage themselves in pulling down the fort, while he himself with a vast army of cavalry, infantry and artillery hastened forward in battle array to meet the army of the *sarkār*. Thus from seven in the morning the cannon on both sides began to speak. Advancing steadily forward, they stood face to face in the middle of the *maydān* where the cannon balls had been falling. The cannonading was so heavy and continuous that they had no space to breathe but the breath of the flames. In brief, the flaming tongues in hell sought shelter elsewhere being inflamed by these tongues of flame; the devils raised a lamentation, the water of sword passed through their heads, and the boat of life was destroyed by the dashing of waves of calamity; the eyes of the world never witnessed such an overflow of blood,

the ears never heard such a fight with scenes of distress as on the resurrection day. The French who had plenty of fighting men were replacing the fallen soldiers now and then with fresh people. The English could not do so, because they were few in number; but they maintained themselves on the battlefield simply out of their sense of honour. Finally, on account of the close approach of the enemy, they had no use for their cannon and muskets and fought hand-to-hand with one another, *i.e.*, cavalry men, armed infantry men and *frangs* on both sides fought hand-to-hand, each choosing his opponent. In brief, the decline of the world of life continued till the setting of the sun, and the world was caught between the jaws of death. On account of the superiority in number, and the frequent refilling of ranks, there was alertness in the French army, while weariness appeared in the ranks of the English because of the paucity of men and continuous exertion. Those who watched the manner of battle were struck with the fear of defeat for the army of the *sarkār*. At this juncture, the face of success which was wrapt in divine mystery appeared by the help of the All-Bestowing Lord Who is always present watching the activities of Ḥaẓrat-i-A'lā. That is, the two or three hundred men, who, as mentioned previously, were their reserve strength observed the hand-to-hand fight on both sides and cannonaded. As fate would have it, one of the cannon balls, fell on the powder-magazine of the enemy. The flame of its fire spread confusion in the ranks of the enemy. Colonel Coote, who led the soldiers of the Pādshāh, took this good opportunity and with great alertness, without any hesitation and in the twinkling of an eye, destroyed the heart of the enemy's forces. Muḥammad Yūsuf Khān also acted briskly and cannonaded from another side. When the fire was lit up as needed in the circumstances, it burnt alike the dead as well as the living. M. Bussy became a prisoner along with many of his countrymen; Dhu'l-Faqār Jang was slain in that

sweeping calamity. The number of the slain and the prisoners among the *frangs* and the Indians on the side of the enemy was beyond reckoning. On seeing this dangerous situation, great trouble, and commotion, as on the Judgment Day, M. Lally in fear and confusion, in great distress and agitation, hid himself from the view of the victorious men, and ran towards Chenjī[1], with a handful of men, leaving behind him big cannon, tents and all the equipage, from the beasts of burden down to straw, to be plundered. At Chenjī also he did not find shelter. So he ran away to Phulcheri. The soldiers at the intrenchment were so much deeply absorbed in cannonading that they were not aware of the defeat of their army till the arrival of the English soldiers to capture them. 'Abdu'l-Wahhāb Khān Bahādur gave orders to imprison the captives, to dress the wounded, and bury the dead on both the sides. He demolished the intrenchment and left no sign of it and opened the doors of the fort. The Khān and Colonel Coote dispatched letters conveying the happy news of success to Ḥaẓrat-i-A'lā and Becket. On that day they stayed where the French army had encamped. Next day they marched out with their army against the fort of Parmūkal[2] which was in possession of the French. In spite of the fact that it was situated on a hill and was further garrisoned by a French army, it was subjugated in a week with the aid of a downpour of balls from cannon and stones from catapults; and the French were made prisoners. Then they turned the reins of their high-blooded horse, fleet-footed enough to cover kingdoms, towards Wardāwūr (Valudavur) and subjugated it after a siege of four or five days and imprisoned the French garrison there.

(1) M. Lally, after the defeat at Wandwāsī, fell back on Chetpet and retreated to Gingee and thence to Valudavur, fifteen miles from Pondicherry.

(2) Perumukkal in the Tindivanam taluq.

'Abdu'l-Wahhāb Khān Bahādur starts for Chandragīrī; Colonel Coote stays with his army in Wardāwūr to collect provisions for the subjugation of Phulcheri; the appointment of Mīr Asadu'llāh Khān to the post of nā'ib to the niẓāmat of the ṣūba of Arcot according to the orders of Ḥaẓrat-i-A'lā; the defeat of the army under Sayyid Ibrāhim 'Alī Khān at the battle of Tiyākgadh (Tyagadrug).

After a perusal of the *arẓdāsht* containing details of the flight of M. Lally towards Phulcheri, the imprisonment of M. Bussy, the death of Dhu'l-Faqār Jang, and the subjugation of the forts Parmūkal, and Wardāwūr[1], Ḥaẓrāt-i-A'lā sent replies individually:—

(1) to 'Abdu'l-Wahhāb Khān Bahādur directing him to go to Chandragīrī, to strengthen and defend it as it happened to be the residence of his noble mother and his exalted sister, it was contiguous to the boundary of Mysore, and there was a rumour of the mischief of its *ṭarafdār* who had friendship with the accursed French;

(2) to Colonel Coote instructing him to stay at Wardāwūr and collect unstintingly all the necessary things for subjugating the town of Phulcheri;

(3) to Mīr Asadu'llāh Khān who resided at Chennapattan reappointing him *nā'ib* of the *ṣūba* of Arcot;

(4) to Arshad Bēg Khān directing him to accompany Mīr Asadu'llāh Khān, to collect *pēshkash* from *pālayagārs*, remove the mischief of robbers, and protect the boundary from the mischief of the enemies;

(5) to Ghazanfar 'Alī Khān and Muḥammad Abrār Khān commanding them to associate with the Colonel; and

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(1) M. Lally was forced to retreat from Valudavur to the limits of Pondicherry (April 1760).

(6) to Muḥammad Yūsuf Khān permitting him to attain happiness by an interview.

All these attended to their work in obedience to the orders. When the Great Giver subjugated for the Nawwāb half of the kingdom of Arcot from the shores of the river Krishna to Wardāwūr, Ḥaẓrat-i-A'lā deemed it prudent to settle the affairs of the other half of the kingdom, and sent from Nattharnagar Sayyid Ibrāhīm Alī Khān, the eldest son of Sayyid Makhdūm Alī Khān along with Dānishmand Khān, Muḥammad Tāju'd-Dīn Khān and Kishan Rao, along with a well-equipped army of the *sarkār*, two hundred soldiers and one English *sardār* to subdue the fort of Tiyākgadh[1]. Accordingly the Khān covered *manzil* after *manzil* and reached near that fort. He had not got down from his horse, and was thinking to encamp his army, when the French rushed out like a cannon ball from their waiting place below to attack him. The Khān who had no time to draw out his army for the battle, began to fire instantaneously. As the enemy also was cannonading, he had to order his army to stand at a distance where the cannon shot could not reach them, so that they might save their lives and be useful for the work of the *sarkār*. Finally on account of the advance of the enemy, great confusion happened in the army of the *sarkār*. Nobody obeyed the orders of the commander; every one liberated himself from the bond of scruples of service in the face of this calamity, and took the way to preserve his own life. As the infantry, the cavalry, and the *sardār* went in different directions the belongings of the army were looted by the enemy. The wicked French then became victorious, and on that day stayed at the same place. Next day they marched stage after stage

(1) At Tyagadrug M. Lally assembled a body of 900 Europeans to march out to Trichinopoly (October 1759).

without any opposition or hindrance, plundering and pursuing those who were running from the battlefield, and entered the temple of Srirang adjoining Nattharnagar.

Ḥaẓrat-i-A'lā was at the fort of the prosperous Nattharnagar; his whole force was divided into many troops and stationed in different districts; yet he was not alarmed or agitated, merely because of his inborn courage; he closed the doors of the fort, and strengthened the defence as far as possible with available men. He assembled the inhabitants of the town and gave them arms and horse. He was able to get together 700 horse including his nobles and his prosperous sons; he made up for armed men and infantry from among the ryots, professional men and others. Thus he collected in all three thousand men equipped with cannon and implements of war, under the leadership of Sayyid Makhdūm 'Alī Khān and Sayyid Nāṣir 'Alī Khān and stationed them outside the fort towards the northern gate, on the bank of the Cauvery opposite the temple of Srirang, the encampment of the enemy. Then he was able to gather within a period of about a week or ten days an army composed of infantry and some horse from Tūndamān (of Pudukottah), from the zamindar of Tirūr and others from among the seven zamindars of Manīpārah belonging to the *sūba* of Nattharnagar. In the meanwhile, those who fled from the battlefield of Tiyākgadh returned with excuses and in a bashful and distressed condition. He received them all from soldier to *sardār*, and made them feel honoured by his demonstrations of love, and removed their bashfulness; he gave them fresh implements, and once again got them ready to exhibit their devotion. The English troop also came back in the same ruinous condition. Ḥaẓrat-i-A'lā comforted them, and in the place of their *sardār* who fell on the ground and gave up his life on account of his drinking a large quantity of water at a *manzil*, appointed another *sardār* according to the custom of the English and made them join the army.

When Ḥaẓrat-i-A'lā found the face of an army, according to the proverb 'Little drops of water make the great ocean' he dispatched them against the temple of Srirang. The French learnt this, cut down the trees, destroyed, plundered and vacated the buildings and devastated the temple. The army of the *sarkār* entered it without any fight and according to the custom appointed the *qil'adār*, the *dārugha*, and other managers, issued orders to rebuild, inhabit and fortify it. Then they returned to Ḥaẓrat-i-A'lā.

The happy march of Ḥaẓrat-i-A'lā with his army, resolving to subdue the fort of Phulcheri; his return from Ranjangadh to Kārīkāl, and its subjugation besides other forts belonging to Arcot; Muḥammad Maḥfūẓ Khān Bahādur meets him at Wardhāchal; Ḥaẓrat-i-A'lā increases the splendour of Chennapattan by his presence.

After the French had fled from the temple of Srirang and Muḥammad Yūsuf Khān returned from Wardāwūr seeking the presence of Ḥaẓrat-i-A'lā, the Nawwāb held a council of his nobles and ministers and addressed them as follows:—

"From the beginning of the establishment of the standards of our pomp and power we neither spent a single day in peace nor slept comfortably during night without anxiety on account of the ever-wakefulness of dormant mischief. For the purpose of extinguishing the live embers of the mischief in the *zamindārī* it has become necessary to spend treasures and shed the blood of some army; consequently the kingdom is brought into a state of confusion. But what a hard task it will be to put out the flame of the fire of opposition of the ruler of *frang* community? Placing my reliance on Allāh, I have resolved to subdue the fort of Phulcheri which is the source of mischief and confusion in this land. It may be recalled here that in an attempt to subdue it Nawwāb Nāṣir Jang Shahīd, the *sardār* and a

powerful commander who possessed three lacs of horses, lost his head without achieving any thing. I desire to uproot this thorny tree whose branches are the cause for the desolation of the garden of the kingdom of the Deccan. I grant that Phulcheri is strong as iron and it is in the hands of the haughty enemy. I understand that it will furnish a test for the exercise of the magnet of the inborn, God-given courage, and I count it a proof of the strength of the conquering arm, the joyful glory of victory. To work I have the right, help is from Allāh; plans proceed from me, but the fruits are from Allāh."

All those who listened to the speech stood up, kissed the earth in respect and gave the following reply:

"The support of the Eternal Lord is with your auspicious intentions for war. According to our prayer, your enemy has his heart opened with the scimitar. In whatever direction you turn your steps, it will be suitable. God will be your supporter in your attempt to untie every difficult knot."

Ḥaẓrat-i-A'lā felt cheerful and happy at the exhibition of obedience by his faithful and devoted servants who held fast to the skirt of his kindness and favour. Then he appointed Ghulām Ḥusayn distinguished by the title of 'Umdatu'l-Umarā, the eldest and the best beloved of his sons, as his *nā'ib* at Nattharnagar; Sayyid 'Alī Khān, Sayyid Nāṣir 'Alī Khān, Malik Aslam Khān, and Ḥusayn Muḥammad Khān as his followers and councillors, and honoured and glorified them by entrusting to them suitable services. He got ready provisions and all kinds of material, appointed experienced men along with some trustworthy English and thus strengthened the fort. After issuing instructions—obedience to which is necessary—Ḥaẓrat-i-A'lā started with the idea of subjugating Phulcheri, followed by his own army and those of others, on the road of confidence and sincerity on Thursday, 20th of Rajab of the year 1173 A.H. riding in his howdah, like the rising of the glorious sun, in an auspicious moment, when his lucky star was in the ascendant and the

star of the enemy was in the descent; while his ears heard the joyful music of the drum, his eyes were on the victorious bridle, his tongue sought the help of the Lord, his mind placed its reliance on the Supreme Intercessor; his will was to destroy the very foundation of the wickedness of the enemy and his purpose to bring prosperity to the creatures of God. Thus he started in splendour and pomp, in dignity and magnificence. As soon as he crossed the two rivers, the Cauvery and the Coleroon, he met the conveyor of joyful news, namely the vakil of Mīr Asadu'llāh Khān who submitted an *ʻarẓdāsht* which informed him of the management of important affairs relating to Arcot, the return to obedience of the zamindars and *jāgīrdārs* and the steps taken to collect *pēshkash*. On hearing this, Ḥaẓrat-i-A'lā thought it a good omen for the achievement of his object, and the destruction of the accursed enemy, and prostrated before the Lord offering his thanks. In great happiness and joy he halted at Mansūrpet, at a distance of three *kurōhs* from Nattharnagar. Next day he marched from that place and blessed the *qasba* of Untātūr[1] by his generous presence. Next morning he passed Walkunda with his army, and his banners flew over Ranjangadh[2] situated at a distance of one *kurōh* from Walkunda, because of the welcome, profound service, request and humble devotion of Mu'tabir Khān, the *jāgīrdār* of that place, and it was the virtue of the generous disposition of the Nawwāb to show regard to the big as well as to the small. He ordered his army to camp round about the fort, and his own guards inside it, while he himself with nobles and ministers resided therein shedding splendour by his presence. Mu'tabir Khān submitted *nadhr* and observed the rules of obedience necessary for a vassal, displayed the courtesy and duties of a host and thus cleared the mirror of his mind off the rust of past turbidness. Ḥaẓrat-i-

(1) Utatur was situated fifteen miles south of Perambalur near a rocky pass through which the road runs to Cuddalore.

(2) Ranjangadh was the scene of a well-known battle in 1751 A. D.

A'lā stayed for seven or ten days in ease and comfort, enjoying different kinds of food and drink, hunting, going on pleasure trips and planning to subjugate Tiyākgadh.[1] In the meanwhile another spy arrived safely and submitted the news about the fort of Kārīkāl being strengthened by the crowd of the wicked French, besides the misery of travellers and cultivators round about it on account of their presence. He dropped the idea of subjugating Tiyākgadh, took leave of his host exhibiting gracious kindliness, and customary generosity by the grant of Walkunda as a *khāliṣa jāgīr* in compliance with the long-felt desire of the *jāgīrdār*, and then marched with his victorious army towards Kārīkāl; after a long march he reached the fort and besieged it. He planted his banners to the north of the fort, pitched the tents of his army, and thus formed an entrenchment. With the idea of preventing any help reaching the enemy he established the bastions on the remaining three sides; the eastern side facing the sea of 'Umān[2] under the command of the English, the west under the exertions of Sayyid Makhdūm 'Alī Khān, the south under the endeavours of Muḥammad Yūsuf Khān. In spite of the severe attempt of the besieged forces, the two towers on the northern side towards the tent of the Nawwāb were pulled down in a few days; many haughty men were killed, and those who escaped death grew desperate and sought shelter; the door of the fort was broken and it was subjugated, and demolished; the French soldiers were imprisoned and the Indians set free on their undertaking not to join the service of the French. Ḥaẓrat-i-A'lā then reached Nagur belonging to Tanjore, attained the happiness of visiting the *dargāh* of Ḥaẓrat Qādir Walī (may Allāh purify his resting

(1) Tyagadrug is in the Kallakurichi Taluk, South Arcot District.

(2) 'Umān—The southern coast of Arabia, extending from Maskat to Aden, *i.e.*, from the entrance into the Persian Gulf to the Straits of Babelmandeb. This seems to be a mistake for Bay of Bengal or rather the Indian Ocean.

place), submitted *nadhr*, and showed favour to the people in the neighbourhood of that illustrious place. Then he left that place and reached Tarkambādī[1], for its governor was a Dutch who on account of his religions affinity had joined M. Lally during his invasion of Tanjore on a previous occasion and helped him in all possible means. The Nawwāb desired to punish him also and to destroy his place by the discharge of arrows and muskets that would blow up mountains. But the Dutch Governor approached the Nawwāb in all humility, and submitted presents; the Nawwāb simply increased the *jizya* and left him undisturbed in his position. Then Ḥaẓrat-i-A'lā went to Salambar (Chidambaram) where he saw the fort, an ancient Hindu temple, garrisoned by French forces, cannon and other implements.[2] He gave battle, subdued the French and took possession of the fort. He imprisoned the French, put them in chains and sent them to Natthar-nagar. As it was commonly believed by the Hindus, Muslims, and others that Salambar had been the halting place of the throne of the prophet Sulaymān (on him be peace) he gave presents to the inhabitants, honoured them, and made them feel happy. He entrusted the fort to 'Abdu'r-Rashīd Khān, second son of Muḥammad Najib Khān Shahīd, who had just then returned from Ḥaydarābād where he had been on the death of his father, gained the confidence of the Nawwāb after a time, and obtained the post of *dīwān-i-khāṣ*. Then Ḥaẓrat-i-A'lā turned the reins of his valiant horse towards Wardāchal (Vriddhachalam) where he found the fort secure in the hands of French. He pressed them so hard that they ran away and he captured the fort. When the enemy was fleeing he sent the victorious army in pursuit of the *sardār* and imprisoned him. In this manner Ḥaẓrat-i-A'lā brought out the hiding French troops from every place; those who could not fly and escaped slaughter

(1) Tarangambadi (Tranquebar).

(2) The French had further fortified the huge walls of the Temple with bastions and gates.

were made prisoners. As the climate and the site of Wardāchal and its plain were pleasant, Ḥaẓrat-i-A'lā stayed there to rest his army. He laid new foundations for the fort[1] and thus strengthened it. Just then Muḥammad Maḥfūẓ Khān Bahādur arrived there. He had been to Ḥaydarābād along with Muḥammad Najību'llāh Khān Bahādur, his younger brother, after the martyrdom of the Nawwāb Nāṣir Jang Shahīd (on him be peace), but as narrated before did not return with him in response to the letter of Ḥaẓrat-i-A'lā who, on the death of Ḥusayn Dōst Khān, invited both his brothers. Ḥaẓrat-i-A'lā, according to his inborn nature, came out of the army quarters to receive him, paid his respects as a son to father, placed his head at the feet of his brother, submitted cash, precious stones, and the rarities of India and Europe, conducted him to the victorious camp and lodged him in a tent adjoining his own quarters. Then he strove to please him, discharged the duties of a host, and looked to his comforts. He learnt he had a desire to occupy Madhrah (Madura) and Tirnāwīlī (Tinnevelly) *in accordance with* the practice observed during the days of his father. Ḥaẓrat-i-A'lā with exceeding joy and happiness entrusted to him the two taluks. Then he sent in advance a mandate addressed to 'Umdatu'l-Umarā Bahādur, his beloved son, the *nā'ib* at the *ṣūba* of Natthārnagar, enjoining on him to respect and honour his uncle as his own father, and to submit a *sanad* for the grant of the district. Then Ḥaẓrat-i-A'lā escorted the Bahādur in person outside the camp and sent him towards Natthārnagar with tents, carpets and servants, and the whole world was astonished at the welling up of love and the modesty of the Nawwāb which were beyond the nature of human beings. In obedience to the command of his famous father, 'Umdatu'l-Umarā Bahādur welcomed his venerable uncle, took him into the fort of Natthārnagar and attended to the duties of hospitality. He wrote a *sanad* according to the directions, sent the Bahādur

(1) The temple of Vriddhachalam also served as a fort.

towards the taluks, and reported the fact to his own glorious father. The Bahādur reached the taluks entrusted to him, and engaged himself to set right the affairs of administration. The rest of the facts will be related in detail in this *daftar* and in the second *daftar.*

In brief, after taking leave of his brother, Ḥaẓrat-i-A'lā marched from Wardāchal towards Wardāwūr[1] to inspect the victorious army gathered under the command of Colonel Coote according to his own orders. He visited the tomb of Shāh 'Alī Ganj Gawhar (may Allāh purify his resting place) which has the rank of paradise, paid his respects and secured the real support. He congratulated and praised Colonel Coote, the *sardār* of the army, who came forth with Ghazanfar 'Alī Khān and Muḥammad Abrār Khān to welcome the Nawwāb and submitted presents and choice articles. Then the Nawwāb entered the encampment. Next day after reviewing the army and receiving the salute, Ḥaẓrat-i-A'lā presented Colonel Coote with a pair of horses, trappings, and a *ṭurra* studded with gems. He also granted presents to every man of the army from the *sardār* to the sepoy according to the rank. On the fourth day he marched forward and reached the fort of Parmūkal, which as detailed before, was captured by 'Abdu'l-Wahhāb Khān Bahādur from the hands of the French and was brought under the control of the *sarkār*. Ḥaẓrat-i-A'lā took pity on the miseries and poverty of Abu'l-Ḥasan Khān, the old *jāgīrdār* and a well-wisher of the *sarkār* and restored him to his *jāgīr* and made him a *qil'adār*. Thence he reached Karnakal (Karunguli) halted there for a day and went to Chingleput. He honoured with presents the English army and the *sardārs* stationed there. Next day he raised aloft the banners of his victorious army marching towards Chennapattan. Becket, the Governor of Chennapattan, went forth with other *sardārs* to Frangikūnda to welcome him, had the honour of meeting the Nawwāb, and adorned his mind with

(1) Valadavur a fort near Pondicherry.

devotion and his tongue with thankfulness, on account of the graceful presents, princely generosity, kindness, benefaction and favours. After the prosperous alighting of the Nawwāb's army, Becket busied himself with arranging a feast as described below.

Becket, Governor of Chennapattan, gives a dinner to Ḥaẓrat-i-A'lā and his nobles in the Company's garden; gaiety and rejoicing of the English community by getting up a dance on the occasion[1].

Becket, the Governor of Madras, invited Ḥaẓrat-i-A'lā and his nobles to a dinner. As the Nawwāb was intimately associated with the English he showed them friendliness by accepting their invitation with great pleasure and happiness.

The Company's garden[2] was decorated for the occasion.

The English took pride in the fact that Ḥaẓrat-i-A'lā had honoured them by accepting their invitation.

All officers of rank among the English accompanied by their wives were present in the garden long before the appointed time.

The host seated the Nawwāb on a golden chair and scattered before his feet gold and precious stones.

Dinner was served at the appointed time. Various kinds of dishes were served in such large quantity that those present were struck with amazement.

There was European as well as Indian dance. Then there was a display of different kinds of fireworks which delighted the party.

The whole night was spent in merry-making. Then Ḥaẓrat-i-A'lā honoured those present with gifts; especially Becket and other English *sardārs* were favoured with presents according to rank.

(1) A brief summary of the account is given as the description of the feast is in courtly language.

(2) The garden house was acquired in 1753. It is the present day Government House in Chepauk.

The army of the Sarkār under the command of Colonel Coote is employed to lay siege to Phulcheri; Ḥaẓrat-i-A'lā increases the splendour at Arcot by his presence; makes it populous as of old, receives a letter from the English King with two portraits and one lion bred in England.

Banquet being over, Ḥaẓrat-i-A'lā held a council of war with Becket the Governor and other *sardārs* of the council of Chennapattan and pointed out to them that it was a favourable opportunity to subdue Phulcheri, because of the engagement of the Deccan army against the Mahrattas, and the war of Ḥaydar 'Alī Khān against the zamindars of Mysore. He assured them that he had arranged to send from Natthamagar in quick succession provisions necessary for the army and that he would stay at Arcot and manage these things. Then he issued orders to collect from Chennapattan lead, gunpowder, and other things necessary for war, to call for warships from Bengal or Bombay, and to employ them on the coast of Phulcheri for the purpose of preventing help that could come from the port of Mūrs (Mauritius) and other ports of the enemy. They agreed to carry out all such directions. They also submitted definite information about the starting of ships from home with an army and their quick arrival to this land. He presented every one with *khil'at* according to rank and bestowed distinction on Becket by honouring him with the presents of a horse, *khil'at*, and a sword. Then he dispatched separate orders to the *sardārs* of the army at Wardāwūr, instructing them to march with their forces and lay siege to Phulcheri. Then he sent away those present, and marched gloriously towards Arcot.

When Ḥaẓrat-i-A'lā reached Kanjī 'Abdu'l-Ḥayy Khān, the *'āmil*, who received him and submitted *nadhr*, was honoured with presents. Next Day the Nawwāb was welcomed by

letter with presents through one of the *sardārs* of the ships. Ḥaẓrat-i-A'lā arranged a *darbār*, assembled his retinue and servants and read out the affectionate letter in the hearing of the great and the small. Though the details of these letters will be given in a different place, a summary of them is given here to preserve the continuity of narration.

Letter of the English king to Ḥaẓrat i-A'lā.

"Our sincere and true friendship which has become manifest till now has paved the way for the meeting in person. Mutual loyalty has become conspicuous. Our affection proceeds from the heart, hence mutual help has become obligatory. Love and affection were put to the test many a time. Your highness has helped us in times of hardship and misfortune to such an extent that it is not possible to enumerate them. From the days of my grandfather till this day my government is bound in gratitude for three generations; it is obligatory on my posterity to confess that, and as long as the English government lasts, it is necessary for them to have regard for past friendship and affection. There is no doubt that the wise and intelligent hold that the

(1) Two pictures of King George III and Queen Charlotte in their coronation robes, painted about 1761 by Allan Ramsay, were sent as presents to the Nawwāb by His Majesty through the Court of Directors in 1768, with the singular accompaniment of a live British lion.

The King's letter accompanying it, dated 6th February, 1768 says as follows:—

"We accept with satisfaction the white stone which you have sent us, as a mark of your attachment. We shall wear it Ourself, and deliver it to Our successors in remembrance of you. And in order that you may have before your eye a memorial of Our regard and affection we send you Our picture and that of Our Queen. Moreover, hearing that you were desirous of procuring a lion, We have directed one from Our own collection to be sent to you which we desire you to keep for our sake as a public proof to the powers of Indostan of the particular regard with which We have been pleased to distinguish you."

The original of the above letter is in the office of the Pay-master of the Carnatic Stipends.

highest rank is for those who have a warm feeling of good-will towards a benefactor; it will vouchsafe the pleasure of God. This good faith has blessed us, and our government has gained strength from day to day for the past three generations. The best benefits of this sincerity are reaped in the shape of victories for the English army on land and sea. We will join your highness in all the undertakings to put down the mischief of enemies. On account of our firm friendship from the days of my grandfather (King George II) we will never grudge to help your highness with our army to any extent in times of necessity. Out of regard for our ancient alliance and long friendship your highness must write letters constantly to strengthen our love and affection so that this may become well known in the world, set things right, and frustrate attempts of enemies.

Two pictures, mine and that of my queen are sent herewith so that the memory may be ever green by seeing them. A lion brought up under our care, a sword, a gun, two golden pistols and a few other presents enumerated in the enclosed list are also sent. I hope your highness will kindly accept them. I have conveyed some confidential information through the *sardār* of the ship who seeks your highness's presence as my *vakil.*"

Reply of Ḥaẓrat-i-A'lā to the English King[1].

"Your affectionate letter reached me. As I was expecting it anxiously, its arrival gave me great pleasure. The contents which are very clear in giving expression to firm friendship, cordial love and deep attachment, add to our long-standing intimacy. I have scrupulous regard for our ancient alliance and past relationship. I am friendly to your friends and inimical to your enemies. The members of your Government are in union with me on account of this sincerity and they are in agreement with me in all undertakings. In fact the gratitude and sincerity

(1) Summary of the letters is given.

of the English are well known and acknowledged everywhere. This accounts for the continuous defeat and failure of the enemies in spite of their great strength, and the steady advance of the power of the English, which perhaps may bring beneficial results to the world at large; for, the progress of the just is in fact the cause of the well-being of God's creation.

The rare gifts which you sent me out of your kindness reached me. It is difficult to give expression to their value. It is hoped that the increase in our friendship will result in the organisation of our friends and the ruin of treacherous enemies."

The members of the Government sealed the letter with the royal seal and entrusted it to the *sardār* of the ship.

The *sardār* was honoured with presents of cash, a *khil'at*, a ring studded with gems and a horse with embroidered saddle.

Colonel Coote starts with the forces of the Sarkār and the English intending to lay siege to Phulcheri; he reaches the frontier; M. Lally comes out and encamps his army outside the fort; Makhdūm Nāyik, on behalf of Ḥaydar 'Alī Khān, arrives with cavalry forces to help the French.

According to the orders of Ḥazrat-i-A'lā and instructions from Becket, Colonel Coote shot forth with all the forces from his encampment at Wardāwūr to destroy the foundations of Phulcheri. When he reached its frontier, M. Lally also got out from Phulcheri, his station, with his army composed of Indians, *frangs*, and Negroes. He strengthened all the three sides of the fort to a distance of four *kurōhs*, with implements of war and cannon, and newly-dug deep ditches, while the fourth side had the protection of the sea. Thus he made it appear that the subjugation of the fort would be impossible. As the road was obstructed by such an iron-like mountain and a fire-emitting dragon, Colonel Coote despaired of achieving his object, and

lost his heart to oppose that evil. But the command of the Nawwāb, the shame of retreat, and the fear to oppose the enemy, weighed with him and he was like one whose head was underneath the sword, or a goat before a fierce lion. He was in great confusion. The enemy also did not advance. Both parties were seeking for an opportunity to attack and did not do any work.[1] In this manner a period of eight months was spent without fighting. In the meanwhile Riẓā ʿAlī Khān, son of Ḥusayn Dōst Khān, and M. Lally dispatched letters to Ḥaydar ʿAlī Khān, seeking his help. As he had not established himself firmly[2] in the territory of Nandraj, of which he had taken possession, they wrote again and again, to achieve their end. Ḥaydar ʿAlī Khān felt helpless and sent Makhdūm Nāyik one of his relations, with an army of horse.[3] When this reinforcement increased the light of the eye of their expectation, the hand was extended to loot the neighbourhood; they roamed about here and there to blockade the roads through which provisions could come to the *sarkār*. Consequent on the straitened circumstances, lamentations and groaning sounded forth from the tongues of the army.[4] The *sardār* did not think it advisable to oppose the enemy, because of the faint heart of his own sepoys. So he

(1) In April, 1760 Colonel Coote captured Valudavur fort; then he seized the Villiyanallur country, drove the French troops from the Perumbai hill and occupied most of the villages in the vicinity of Pondicherry, capturing the forts of Villupuram, Chidambaram, and Vriddhachalam. Thus the French were left with a few enclosures under the guns of Villiyanallur and Ariyankuppam, and the ground within the bound-hedge of Pondicherry.

(2) Ḥaydar ʿAlī Khān was then in great danger of being overthrown by Khande Rao, and was anxious to secure some place of refuge in case of failure.

(3) Ḥaydar ʿAlī was persuaded to send a body of 2,000 horse and 3,000 sepoys to help the French on the condition that he would be given the forts of Tyagadurg and Elavanasore, besides a lac of rupees.

(4) This probably refers to the defeat of Krishna Rao, near Valikandapuram by Makhdūm ʿAlī (June, 1760) and his appeal to Colonel Coote for help.

wished to retreat certain *manzils* and then advance at an opportune time. At this juncture, misunderstanding arose between the *sardār* and the Governor of Chennapattan. The *ʿarẓdāsht* of Colonel Coote along with the *ʿarẓdāshts* from other *sardārs*, counselling the withdrawal of forces, reached Ḥaẓrat-i-Aʿlā. From these the Nawwāb learnt the difficulties of the army, but considered the retreat as improper. He wrote a letter to Colonel Coote informing him of his own march in person, besides other friendly news and thus encouraged and pacified the *sardār*. Then he instructed his officers to make arrangements for the march.[1]

The march of Ḥaẓrat-i-Aʿlā from the capital of Arcot towards Phulcheri; he joins the army under the command of Colonel Coote; the battle, the defeat of the French and the flight of Makhdūm Nāyik in the direction of Bālāghāt.

Considering the distressed condition of the army, and reflecting on the misunderstanding between the *sardārs*, Ḥaẓrat-i-Aʿlā ordered Mīr Asadu'llāh Khān, the *nā'ib* in the *ṣūba* of Arcot, to send regularly provisions to the army and cash for their expenses through the governor of Chennapattan. He also wrote to the governor asking him to send lead, and gun powder and take the usual charges from the Khān. Then basing his reliance on the grace of the Glorious Lord, Ḥaẓrat-i-Aʿlā started in an auspicious hour, covered *manzil* after *manzil* and encamped near the victorious army. The *sardārs*, who went forth to welcome him felt honoured, and an inspiring address from his lips relieved their minds of the cares of sorrow and the affliction of turbidness. Thus cheering the minds of soldiers, he entered his tent. Next day he reviewed the army. He placed the soldiers and armed men under the command of Colonel

(1) The Nawwāb sent troops to Madura to attack Ḥaydar's possessions in Dindigul and to help Krishna Rao.

Coote, the horse of the *sarkār* under Ghazanfar 'Alī Khān, while he himself commanded his own forces. He stationed them in three distinct places; that is, he posted the troops under Colonel Coote and Ghazanfar 'Alī Khān to the right and left of his own troop, with the idea of exhibiting his power and influence. Then, on the third day he beat the kettledrum.

M. Lally, who took pride in his large army, encamped outside the fort the whole multitude of Indians, *frangs*, Negroes, and the horse of Makhdūm Nāyik. The battle began. The English came into contact with the French, and Ghazanfar 'Alī Khān with Makhdūm Nāyik, while Ḥaẓrat-i-A'lā and Colonel Coote watched the fight intending to help the army of the *sarkār* if at any time—God forbid—any depression was seen, and cheered them with applause and praise. In spite of the thundering noise of cannon, and the innumerable fire-emitting guns, the showering of stones from catapults, and the dashing of the waves in the ocean of battle, both parties were steady in the field till noon, without achieving the happiness of success. As the Unknown Aid was designing to brighten the affairs of the *sarkār*, and Fate was waiting to ruin the labours of the wicked enemy, a ball proceeding from the fire-emitting cannon of the English, carried away from the scene of battle the foot of the *sardār* of the mischievous French, which was so calamitous as to make him give up the pride and the hope of leading the army; his followers, thus reduced to helplessness, increased the darkness of their gloomy faces, with the dust of disgraceful flight. Makhdūm Nāyik, in his helplessness and confusion due to the reverse of fortune, desired to seek refuge by joining the French army. Muḥammad Abrār Khān marched quickly with his horse from the battlefield, and blocked his way, when Ghazanfar 'Alī Khān pursued him and came against him like another calamity. Makhdūm, racked on both sides, felt powerless and helpless and turned the bridle of his swift horse towards Tanjore. At every *manzil* many a horse and rider

fell, and he was thus lightened of his equipage. Thus in utmost distress, he reached Bālāghāt with a small army and informed his master, who was jubilant in anticipation of victory with the French help, of the destruction of his army and his own misery.

The army of Colonel Coote, which, for various reasons, had suffered diverse mishaps[1], felt strong after the Nawwāb's arrival and victory on that day. The roads on all sides were opened and large quantities of provisions began to come from Nattharnagar and Arcot. The residents of the adjoining villages purchased from the army grain that was in excess of their need, carried them to their own homes, and did business.

The battle, the siege of Yalānūr,[2] its subjugation by the victorious army after a severe struggle.

The victory had been won and the wretched enemy routed; the prosperous Nawwāb, possessor of the grace of the Mighty Lord, did not break his camp for three more days; musical instruments celebrated the victory; and the firing of salutes indicated his happy position. Ceremonies to the dead according to the different sects to which they belonged being over, and the brave men wounded in the battle having been dressed, he marched out on the fourth day to attack the tower at Yalānūr which was well defended by select and able *sardārs*, and considered to be the strongest of all the towers in the outskirts of Phulcheri.[3] He encamped before the enemy at the distance of a

(1) One of such mishaps was the defeat in Tiruvati of Major Moore (July, 1760.)

(2) Villiyanallur (Villenour.)

(3) The bound-hedge of Pondicherry extended in a curve of fifteen miles round the town, and was strengthened by four large redoubts, called respectively from north to south, as the Madras, Valdour, Villenour and Ariyankuppam forts. Colonel Coote captured the fort of Villenour before M. Lally could come out of Pondicherry and relieve it. Orme says that this was the most fortunate of all Coote's successes, because it was least expected

cannon shot. In a short time he erected high and long batteries and began to cannonade. For one full month each party was engaged by day in destroying the places of refuge belonging to the other, and in repairing them by night. Sometimes one party was successful and at other times, the other; the enemy was often driven to the tower. Ḥaẓrat-i-A'lā was vexed at this state of affairs. So he assembled Colonel Coote, and other *sardārs*, Indians as well as *frangs*, and nobles, and addressed them as follows:—

"When the results are slow in coming, the object of friendly complaints is with a view to seek aid, and it seems necessary to reveal to a friend what occurs in one's mind. That is, I do not make any complaint because of the prolongation of the war and the consequent large expenses. But I fear that in the event of delay, reinforcements may reach the enemy, and our labours with the loss of many souls and money during the past many months in the attempt to curtail the strength of the wicked enemy will go in vain. It strikes my mind that the reverse of our aims should not turn up, and cause fresh trouble. Even a single tower is not subdued till this day; and how to subdue other towers and forts? It is my earnest desire that we should exert ourselves speedily with bravery that it may become proverbial among men of the times."

All those who listened to this speech were impressed, became diligent, and submitted: "Let bygones be bygones; if, to-morrow, the order is given, and the three armies are drawn in battle array, your exalted eyes will behold the bravery of your devoted servants; for the standards of the *sarkār* will be flown from the tower and the enemy ruined and made to flee".

The Nawwāb applauded this great courage. Next day he arranged the three armies, sent them towards three sides of the *maydān*, and gave orders to cannonade the enemy. The French

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and it resulted in the retreat of M. Lally with his whole army under the walls of Ariyankuppam.

also exerted themselves greatly, and advanced so near that cannon balls proceeding from both sides collided with one another on account of the narrowness of the *maydān*. Finally, both forces mixed with each other at the foot of the tower. On account of the superiority in numbers—the root of mischief—the enemy was pouring in with renewed vigour. Half the day passed in this kind of fight; Colonel Coote who was standing aside with a group of soldiers of the Pādshāh, suddenly began to attack with such courage and strength that he paralysed the French. He directed the troops commanded by Ghazanfar ʿAlī Khān and Muḥammad Abrār Khān, to follow him while he attacked with his forces the tower on its broken side. In the heat of war, the Nawwāb gave orders to rain fire from the cannon mounted on the batteries. Leaving his place, he joined the particular rank of his own army that was ready for attack; he commanded Muḥammad Yūsuf Khān and other *sardārs* to attack the tower along with the Colonel. Thus by the steadfastness and bravery of these men, and the grace of the Great Glorious Lord the Bestower of all things, the Nawwāb ascended the tower, planted the standards of the *sarkār*, took possession of the cannon, and began to open fire on the flying enemy. Musical instruments sang happiness, and salutes were fired in joy. Ḥaẓrat-i-Aʿlā then demolished the tower. He gladdened the Colonel with the gift of a horse, and other *sardārs* with presents of *khilat*. He rested his army and made the French fly in great confusion towards Adyākūpam (Ariyankuppam).

The subjugation of the towers of Adyākūpam (Ariyankuppam) and Wadgara (Olugarai) one after another, and their demolition. The flight of the French in distress and with very great loss towards Tādpan seeking shelter.

The tower of Yalānūr having been blotted out of existence, the accursed runaways took refuge in the equally strong tower of Adyākūpam. Finishing the work pertaining to the dead and the wounded, Ḥaẓrat-i-A'lā started on the fourth day, like a blood-tasting lion issuing forth from forest, in search of its prey. He reached Adyākūpam and in accordance with the plan of Colonel Coote deputed an army to besiege it. Then he turned his attention to erect a new tower to destroy the ambush of the enemy. In a period of one week he pulled down one of the sides of the Adyākūpam tower. This encouraged the victorious army who grew eager for war; while the enemy from that day got fear in the heart and morbidness in the mind. Colonel Coote, with soldiers of the Pādshāh, captured the tower, took possession of the cannon, opened fire on the enemy, and thus assisted the army of the *sarkār* which was fighting vehemently on the *maydān.*[1] As a result of this the enemy was overpowered and hastened towards Wadgara where M. Lally had encamped with an army and stores of countless implements of war. It was there a garden had been planted and named after the Pādshāh of the French. The bloom of colour on the forehead of trees in that garden was a model for a painter of the spring; the rare designs on its walls and doors reflected the splendour of the marvels of the times;

(1) Colonel Coote decided that, before attacking the redoubts of the bound-hedge, he should capture the fort of Ariyankuppam which was separated from Pondicherry by the river. M. Lally heard of the plan and resolved to surprise the British camp. The French attack was made on 4th September and failed with considerable loss. M. d' Auteuil became a prisoner. The English camp extended from Villenour to Perumbai.

the loftiness of its roof was like the fortunate aspect of the felicity of Jāmshīd and Qubād; the arrangement of mansions in their respective places was the picture-gallery for celebrated painters like Mānī and Bahzād. The tongue of the pen becomes sweet by praise of the sweetness of its fruits; the surface of the paper becomes tinged with colour by extolling the colours of its flower-garden. The beds of green hyacinth, narcissus and wild rose satisfied the imagination.

After the subjugation of the tower of Adyākūpam, Ḥaẓrat-i-A'lā favoured Colonel Coote with fresh honours. After attending to the wounded and the dead, he reached Wadgara, fixed at suitable places the standards of his victorious army and laid siege to the garden, the encampment of the accursed army. As the garden was well protected by a series of towers, Ḥaẓrat-i-A'lā built towers opposite to them and made the flaming guns emit forth the fire that would burn the enemies. For a period of three weeks, both sides fought daily with equal valour. One day the superior courage of the friends of Ḥaẓrat-i-A'lā got the better of the enemy. Just when both ranks came to close proximity Colonel Coote withdrew himself along with some soldiers to one side with great ability. As soon as M. Lally overcame the file of men who opposed him, he went forward, intoxicated with the drink of pride, as far as the tower of the *sarkār*, without due caution. Colonel Coote then came out of his hiding place, and M. Lally was caught between the Colonel and the line of defeated soldiers. He got frightened and stretched out his head with the idea of escaping from the rack, but found the way blockaded by Ghazanfar 'Alī Khān and the cannonading of Colonel Coote. He had been in a similar situation on a previous occasion. In brief, leaving all the materials and giving up hope of all attempts, M. Lally ran away to Tādpan adjacent to the port of Phulcheri and took refuge.[1]

(1) This refers to M. Lally's attempt to retake the Arijankuppam redoubt. (29th September.)

The entire army, imprisoned in the enclosures of the towers (redoubts), was perplexed. On achieving such success, and seeing the garden and its beauties, the victorious Nawwāb offered thanks to the Creator, the Lord of the Universe, and comforted the ears of the whole world by joyful play of the happy instruments of music and firing of salutes which announced the news of happiness.

M. Lally takes refuge with his whole army at Tādpan; the siege, the loss of battle on account of the superior management and the courage of Ḥaẓrat-i-A'lā, the annihilator of the enemy; the arrival of M. Lally at the fort of Phulcheri in great dread and confusion.

The enemy's forces had taken to heels, the conqueror of the kingdom captured the rear of the enemy's army and conveyed them to his encampment without any molestation. Then he set at liberty the Indians, and imprisoned for life the French and the Negroes. He distributed their implements among his own army, and blotted the tower out of existence. On the fourth day after the victory he marched forth and reached a place known as Tādpan,[1] on account of the density of palm trees, to the extent of one *kurōh* on all sides of the fort of Phulcheri, except the side facing the sea, at a distance of one *kurōh* from the fort. Tādpan appeared to possess the strength of a fort with innumerable walls, because of the thick growth of trees; nay, it seemed to be a mountain of steel, because M. Lally had taken refuge, gathered his cannon, and set the towers in order. There Ḥaẓrat-i-A'lā divided his whole army into many troops, appointed trustworthy *sardārs* and left them under the command of Colonel Coote, who erected bunds at strategic points and cut down the trees by firing shots in such quick succession that the rapidity with which the balls issued from the mouths of the cannon appeared like a saw, while the French vacated the place

(1) Tālippanai (Talipot) tree.

where the trees were cut. They set in order the various towers which would be useful for purposes of war as well as shelter and strengthened them with their forces who were encouraged to put forth their valour. The result was an indecisive fight for a period of two months. One day when Colonel Coote was marching in the company of Ḥaẓrat-i-A'lā with a small number of horse, he went forward a long distance into the grove, finding his way with a telescope. He captured some of the peasants who were passing by, inquired of them the way, conducted them into the presence of Ḥaẓrat-i-A'lā, and kept them in confinement. On that very night, he dispatched an army under two guides from among them. Next morning he divided his whole army into three or four troops and marched forward facing the enemy. There was fighting till noon on account of the opposition of the French. In the meanwhile, Muḥammad Yūsuf Khān came out with his army from the side of the trees and put up a brave fight. Immediately the troop sent overnight came behind the worthless enemy, and a severe fight ensued. Colonel Coote understood the noise of cannon to be the messenger of the consequences of his plan and marched forward with his army also. M. Lally did not find any way out of the dangers on the three sides, but to run to Phulcheri and shut himself up with his companions inside the fort. He then got ready the implements of war and thus brought the kettle-drum of war into his own ruinous house.

Marshy ground[1] *obstructs the march of the army of the sarkār in the course of the pursuit of the accursed runaway enemy; the filling up of it; the march of the army to lay siege to the fort; the account of the rebellion of Muḥammad Maḥfūẓ Khān Bahādur; the appointment of Muḥammad Yūsuf Khān to extinguish the fire of mischief.*

Now on the *maydān* of quest, difficulties dog at every step, troubles occur at every breath. When Ḥaẓrat-i-A'lā, after the subjugation of Tādpan, hastened towards the fort of Phulcheri, marshy ground to the extent of one *kurōh* from the verge of Tādpan to the precincts of the fort, came in view like a treacherous foe who puts on the appearance of a sincere friend; it appeared to the undiscerning eye as firm earth fit for the march of horse and elephant, but in truth was a gulf even for the fleeting shadow. Ḥaẓrat-i-A'lā saw the obstacle and halted. As men employed to fill it up with stone and mud were not sufficient, Ḥaẓrat-i-A'lā also girded up his loins, tucked his sleeves up to the elbow, and joined them in their work. On seeing this the old as well as the young in the army engaged themselves in this work of casting hay, leaves and trees of the plain, and old superfluous tents. In a period of about seven or ten days, they progressed to a distance of thirty or forty yards; in a period of one month and a few days when a broad path fit enough for the passage of the army was got ready, a river also intervened. It was flowing from the south towards the north adjoining the ditch and was emptying itself into the sea. Ḥaẓrat-i-A'lā put up a big dam, diverted its course to the other side and made it join the sea.

Owing to the raging of the sea of the army under every *sardār*, the fort was caught in the whirlpool of siege. Ḥaẓrat-i-A'lā busied himself in setting in order the towers and the

(1) This extended to the north west of the walls up to the Red Hills.

intrenchments, and devising rules of action. Before achieving any result in this struggle, another trouble faced Ḥaẓrat-i-A'lā. He heard that Muḥammad Maḥfūẓ Khān Bahādur in union with Pulitiyūr (Pulitevar) and other mischievous zamindars, was making preparations for opposing Ḥaẓrat-i-A'lā, by building the fort of Madura, seeking the help of Ḥaydar 'Alī Khān, and sending Sampat Ray, the *dīwān* of Nawwāb Shahīd, to Niẓām 'Alī Khān to enlist his support. Ḥaẓrat-i-A'lā pondered over the matter, and even thought of postponing the idea of punishing or destroying the enemy; yet he endeavoured outwardly to put on a fearless attitude in accordance with his power to conquer kingdoms. He assembled the *sardārs* both Indians and *frangs* and said:—

"Many years of hard labour have gone by, vast treasures and property have been exhausted, various kinds of difficulties and inconveniences undergone, several armies wasted; my famous father, Nawwāb Nāṣir Jang the powerful *sardār* and others are dead. Now, after many a battle, when the image of ruin of the capital ot the accursed enemy comes in view merely by the help of God, a boil of disorder, such as this, brings with it pain in the joints of the body of the kingdom. Although I wish to treat this boil after removing the thorn of Phulcheri from the foot of my labours, yet if I do not act according to the wisdom conveyed by the following verse, 'A wire may suffice to block a fountain, but when it gushes forth, even a beam cannot', it is possible that the confusion may take root, and its suppression may become impossible. But the attempt now to punish these men will be like the saying, 'one head with two aims.' And this should not be. So advise me according to your experience and intelligence, and suggest to me a plan."

None came foward with any scheme of action, though all were ready to obey the commands of Ḥaẓrat-i-A'lā. But Muḥammad Yūsuf Khān, seeking pardon for his daring proposal, submitted humbly and with great politeness as follows:—

" In case a mandate is issued to the exalted prince 'Umdatu'l-Umarā Bahādur enjoining on him to render assistance with army and necessary things, I shall be able with the help of zamindars of those parts and through the propitious blessings that would subdue kingdoms, to manage easily this work".

Ḥaẓrat-i-A'lā rejoiced at this proposal. As per his request an *'ināyat-nāma* bearing the following contents was addressed to his beloved son:

"To correct certain rebels in the far off districts of Tirnāwīlī and Madhra which, in these days have become the source of trouble and evil deeds, in consequence of authority having been entrusted to our exalted brother, and keeping in view the well-being of the imperishable state, and taking hint from the happy wisdom, we have sent to you the brave and intrepid Muḥammad Yūsuf Khān, relying on the assistance of the Great Helper. It is necessary to supply him with cash and other things essential for such a great and sure undertaking, and commission quickly two-thirds of the army at the fort of Nattharnagar and the forces of the zamindars, your dependants, for the help of the Khān as desired by him, and dispatch him to Tirnāwīlī. We have sent along with the Khān, Malik Aslam Khān, the virtuous person who was my father's bosom friend for the purpose of admonishing the brother to do his duty and save him from the charge of ingratitude. Think it necessary to render in quick succession various kinds of assistance to the Khān, gather information about the two districts with the aid of messengers, and communicate it to us frequently."

The above letter was written, adorned with the seal and entrusted to the Khān, whom the Nawwāb presented with *khil'at* and sword, and paid six thousand rupees to meet the expenditure of the troops. The Nawwāb also bestowed on the *risāladārs* appointed under him, various presents and increased their honour. Thus he dispatched them.

Then he turned his attention to lay siege to Phulcheri, which on account of the protection on the east and the south by the sea of 'Umān and on the other two sides by the running stream and deep ditches[1], was like an island inaccessible to any human being. In spite of the stern defence of the besieged, Ḥaẓrat-i-A'lā blew up many towers equipped with cannon at the expense of many brave men of the victorious army. He deputed the *sardārs* of the Indian and the *frang* forces to every one of the towers and called them after the name of the particular *sardār*. For example, the tower opposite the tent of the Nawwāb was named as the intrenchment of the Nawwāb, the tower of Colonel Coote became well known by the name of the Colonel. Cannon shots and catapults began to rain night and day first from the intrenchment of the Nawwāb, then from that of the Colonel and then from other towers. In the same manner the artillery of the French as well flashed fire from different towers of the fort. Indeed, each skilled gunner on both sides, was aiming at the mouth of the cannon of the other and consequently the balls proceeding from each side knocked against one another many a time. When the happy Nawwāb announced presents to the victorious army for their continuous efforts, taking only a little time for food and rest, they pierced a hole at the foot of the wall and firing continuously for a while, they pulled down the wall and towers on one side and thus made the mouths of the cannon to adorn the dust of the earth. In spite of the severe attack of the besieging army, the French, merely because of their great experience in every fight, their meeting with hard labour and fatigue, and their greedy habit to subjugate the forts of the Deccan, exerted themselves night and day as long as they had provisions. When the means of their strength were exhausted, and the roads were blocked on account of the hard pressure of the army of the *sarkār* and the ships of the brave

(1) This refers to the Ariyankuppam river on the south and a flood-channel to the south of the marsh.

English, the besieged ate the flesh of their own body in lieu of food,[1] and drank blood in lieu of water. Finally they grew desperate on account of their helplessness to get any assistance, and were fainting on account of the pain of helplessness. Considering the straitened circumstances of the besieged, Ḥaẓrat-i-Aʿlā raised the banner of safety and protection which proclaimed security for honour, life, and food for three days; consequently every one sought refuge and the fort became empty.

He wrote to Riẓā ʿAlī Khān: "Put aside from your mind the dread of former times and misgivings of past days. Think of us as more than a brother and you will find generosity, regard for your dignity, and preservation of honour. There will be security in all ways. You will have a *jāgīr* as you desire befitting your ease and comforts".

Riẓā's mother and other dependants of Ḥusayn Dōst Khān preserved a tranquil mind and came out of that prison-house which would cause damage to their honour and life and rested under that house of security of the victorious army. Ḥaẓrat-i-Aʿlā entertained them, bestowed on them *khilʿats*, and made them feel happy. He then permitted them to depart, and made arrangements for transit of their things to Chennapattan. Ḥaẓrat-i-Aʿlā also sent *parwānas* addressed to the name of Mīr Asadullāh Khān, the *nāʾib* of the *ṣūba* of Arcot, with a view to provide for them. Riẓā ʿAli Khān adorned his tongue outwardly with terms of treaty and peace but according to his innate evil nature came out of the fort during a stormy night for the purpose of seeking refuge in a safe place. When the English ships went away, he got into a boat and sailed towards the south, and disappeared. No one ever heard of him later.[2]

(1) For an eye-witness's account of the scarcity of grain in Pondicherry see *The Private Diary of Ananda Ranga Pillai*, Vol. XII (entries for April, 1760 *et seq*.)

(2) There was a severe storm on 30th December, 1760. In the wild nights succeeding the storm, several boats got away from Pondicherry, Riẓā ʿAlī Khān escaped in one of them to Negapatam and thence to Ceylon.

The helplessness of M. Lally and his community owing to the strength and the readiness of the army of the sarkār to attack; the subjugation of the fort in consequence of the accursed besieged seeking quarters; the imprisonment of M. Lally, M. Lahrī and other sardārs of the French, the substitution of the Wālajāhī banners in the place of the French banners fit only for destruction.

The messenger of pen has covered the space of many years, and he reaches his destination this day. His success may be seen now. The young plant of the chronicler, watered for a long time with the river of thoughts, has begun to yield fruit and it is possible to gather them with both hands.

M. Lally got into a fix on account of the brave hand of Ḥaẓrat-i-A'lā. The fort had become empty of inhabitants, old and new; there remained only fighting men—destined for destruction—who were restrained from running by fetters of clanship and honour, Indians of long service, and Abyssinian prisoners. In these circumstances M. Lally found his hard heart and merciless mind useless for war in future. The army with a limited number of cannon and muskets, and only one meal a day experienced such adversity and helplessness that they had to spend their days in sorrow, and finally died of starvation.[1] Those who were alive ate crows, kites, dogs, cats and other unnatural victuals. They were so completely paralysed that they could not move either hands or feet and began to raise a lamentation. The valiant soldiers of the *sarkār* entered the fort through a hole in the wall, broke open the doors and engaged themselves busily in destroying that house of mischief. They dug up its foundation, filled it up with gunpowder and waited for the command of

(1) The scarcity of paddy was so great that M. Lally threatened, even in September, to drive out all Tamils from the town. On the 27th November, he turned out all Indians to the number of 1,400.

Ḥaẓrat-i-A'lā to set fire to it with the intention of destroying it and eradicating the pride of the enemy. So M. Lally felt helpless, and in accordance with the advice of all French *sardārs,* he sent to the presence of the Nawwāb a priest accompanied by some *sardārs* suing for peace; he submitted through the mediation of Colonel Coote that he would surrender the fort in a period of eight days and requested suspension of hostilities. Ḥaẓrat-i-A'lā who had a strong desire to take vengeance on the French for their attack and massacre in the fort of Chetpet in the past, thought that their peace endeavour was only to gain time, get reinforcements and recoup strength. So he shrugged his shoulders and did not accept the offer of peace. But out of regard for the requests of the English *sardārs,* and in fairness to the custom of that community, he agreed for peace and gave interview to the vakils. He established his authority over all the affairs of the fort, prevented its repairs, dismantled the cannon, permitted every one to purchase daily rations from the shops of the camp, placed guards round the fort walls, and gave vakils permission to retire.

When Becket arrived by ship from Chennapattan on hearing the peace, and attained the happiness of meeting the Nawwāb, the misunderstanding that was lurking in the minds of the governor and the *sardārs* of the army, as related in the previous pages, was removed.

After the expiry of the period of truce on the 9th of Jamādiu'th-thānī of the year 1174 A.H.[1] immediately after early-morning-prayer Ḥaẓrat-i-A'lā got up on his elephant high as the sky, which from that day was known as '*fataḥ-lashkar*'. It was the same elephant which Ḥaẓrat-i-A'lā rode with all the pomp of his army composed of Indian and *frangs* during the days when he assisted the English at Dewnampattan and defeated the French. When the select troops of Ḥaẓrat-i-A'lā

(1) Friday 16th January, 1761.

reached the gate of the fort, the ever-wakeful luck brought to him the keys of the doors from the French *sardārs* through the English *sardārs.* On that very spot he pitched his tent, and conveyed peace and tranquillity to the whole world by the happy reports of cannon and the music of the victorious army. The *sardārs* of the army entered the fort after deputing men to guard every place, securing the arsenal, and imprisoning M. Lally, M. Lahrī (Leyrit) and other *sardārs* of the French. The French flags were lowered and the *wālājāhī* banner was installed. Thus the fortune of the enemy was at a low ebb, and the good luck of the allies became exalted. The lamentations of the enemy and the mirth of the allies were so mixed that the colour of the rose garden of eternal prosperity exhibited a strange splendour.

Four hours had not elapsed after the installation of the flags of the *sarkār,* the victorious army had not even rested, when the French ships with provisions and a large army arrived from Mūrs. They saw from a distance the flags indicating the subjugation of the fort by the conqueror of kingdoms and also the English ships in the harbour, and understood their own destruction. So they turned and went back the way they had come.

Ḥazrat-i-A'lā visits the fort, gives thanks to Heaven for the gift bestowed upon him, accepts nadhr from officers of the government, and gives them presents; M. Lally and M. Lahrī are dispatched to the country of the English;[1] *the fort demolished as a retribution for the damage done to the fort of Dewnampattan.*

The powerful and glorious Nawwāb got on his horse in an auspicious hour and reached the fort gate where innumerable shots were fired, which announced the ignominious condition of

(1) M. Lally and M. Leyrit were taken to Madras and thence sent to England. The English government allowed them to proceed to France on their parole.

the French. On the *maydān* opposite to the house of M. Dupleix a salute of guns was fired in accordance with usage by the victorious army composed of Indians and *frangs.* The Nawwāb then alighted and sat on a chair. After the call to prayer was repeated, he said the prayer invoking blessings, making two genuflexions.

The house of Dupleix was full of rare and wonderful works of art collected for a long time. The house was kept neat and tidy, and was free from any kind of fault. The style of the building was so grand that it brightened the eye and pleased the mind. The walls were painted with gold and set with innumerable mirrors. The pillars were substantial and splendid. The colours on the wall were such that they appeared to change with the change of season. The pictures thereon were so nice and pretty that they seemed to speak during the day and sleep during the night.

After the Nawwāb had gone round with a jaunty air enjoying the sight, a *masnad* was put up and orders were given for *darbār-i-'ām.* The Nawwāb was pleased to receive salutations, congratulations and *nadhr* from the *sardārs,* and presented each one with elephant, horse, *khil'at,* gold and precious gems and thus bestowed on them unexpected honour.

After peace and order were restored in the city the Nawwāb sent away by ship M. Lally and M. Lahrī to the country of the English. Then he went towards the sea, tucked up his sleeves, and dug out with a shovel two bricks from the wall of the fort; he threw one into the sea, and sent the other to Nattharnagar so that it might be proclaimed that opposition of the powerful would have such result; that the seed of insolence of the erring ones would grow in this manner. He then gave orders for the demolition of the building and addressed the two *sardārs* thus:—

"In former days I obeyed the commands of my father and preserved Dewnampattan and freed Chennapattan from the treacherous hands of the French, but now I have captured the

fort of Phulcheri as a punishment for the subjugation of Chennapattan and I have destroyed it as a reparation for their attack on Dewnampattan. I have thus done my duty to the English. I grant this fort of Phulcheri to the English Company so that they may prosper in business and the things found in it to the *sardārs* of the army as a reward for their toil and bravery. I wish the bond of help between your community and my children continues for ever; whoever acts contrary to it will become unworthy of his ancestry."

As he had bestowed upon the English all things in the fort as gifts, he purchased out of these for a large sum one big mirror, a cluster of lamps made of crystal, chairs of different pattern, lovely pictures and other articles besides two portraits of the French King and Queen which as described in the previous pages had been sent from home by the French King to the Nawwāb when negotiations for peace were discussed. As the Nawwāb had declined to accept these portraits M. Dupleix hung them in his house. These things were sent to Nattharnagar.

On the occasion of Chennapattan being subdued by the French M. Dupleix had carried away black stone pillars from the fort of Phulcheri and used them in his building. The English removed them from the building, carried back to Chennapattan by ship and restored them to their place.

The *jāgīr* of Phulcheri as it was originally under Arcot, was entrusted to Mīr Asadullāh Khān by the order of the Nawwāb. In brief the victory happened as desired by the well-wishers of the Nawwāb.

At this juncture Ḥaẓrat-i-A'lā learnt about the coronation of 'Alī Gawhar Shāh 'Ālam as the Emperor of Hind. He wrote an *'urẓdāsht* congratulating him on his accession to the throne with 1100 *ashrafī* as *nadhr* and conveying the news of the capture of the fort of Phulcheri with keys made of gold as *nadhr*; entrusted these to Khwāja Shamsu'd-Din Khān, his vakil, and instructed him to submit them to the Mughal Emperor

in the company of Mr. Clive who, after the capture of Ḥusayn Dōst Khān, had gone home, had been honoured with the title of Lord Clive by the English King, and had returned to Bangāla (Bengal). The Khān reached Bangāla, and met Lord Clive, who received him with pleasure. They started together seeking the presence of the Pādshāh and submitted to him the *'arẓdāsht*.

The Emperor praised the Nawwāb for the capture of Phulcheri, accepted *nadhr* submitted for his coronation and *nadhr* for the subjugation of the fort. Then he granted the title of *wālājāh* to Ḥaẓrat-i-A'lā besides other titles and *manṣabs* to the five sons of the Nawwāb. The Khān took leave of the Emperor and returned.

APPENDIX I[1].

Muḥammad Yūsuf Khān took leave of Ḥaẓrat-i-A'lā who, on the eve of his capture of Phulcheri, sent him to set things right in Madura and Tinnevelly. (May 1759).

Yūsuf Khān reached Nattharnagar and delivered the *farmān* of Ḥaẓrat-i-A'lā to 'Umdatu'l-Umarā Bahādur. The prince, in spite of his young age and deficiency in practical knowledge, was able to collect in a period of about ten or twelve days a grand army composed of the forces of the *sarkār* and those of Tondaman and other zamindars, equip them with guns, cannon and other suitable things and entrust them to the Khān. When this news spread from mouth to mouth the rebels were seized with terror and became scattered.

The Khān continued his journey winning over the inhabitants to his side and appointing *'āmils*, and reached Madura. As the people in the fort turned against him in spite of his admonition, he laid siege to the fort. He threatened them with great loss of life and property; he dug through the wall and thus subjugated the fort without bloodshed. He then entrusted it to a *qil'adār* with necessary forces and turned his face towards Palamkūta known as Tirnāwili.

Muḥammad Maḥfūẓ Khān Bahādur who had already heard of the march of the victorious army, the subjugation of Madura and the restoration of order in that area, thought it not advisable to hold to Palamkūta. He left that place and went to Nelkattumseval a place full of trees and shrubs and safe from all kinds of danger. He exalted Pulitevar, the zamindar,

(1) The information contained in the following pages does not fall in with the due sequence of the narrative in the book. Hence it is summarised here in the form of Appendices.

calling him as his son, and resolved to defend his place with the help of seventeen *pālayagārs* of that area.

Muḥammad Yūsuf Khān laid siege to Palamkūta, (July 1759) captured it after fifteen days without bloodshed and entrusted it to a *qil'adār* of the *sarkār*. He then reached after great exertion the limits of Nelkattumseval with a view to meet Muḥammad Maḥfūẓ Khān Bahādur and could not proceed further. He cut down some trees with the help of the Tondaman and other zamindars who accompanied him, cleared the way for the march of the army, entered the territory of Pulitevar and waited for an opportunity to lay hands on the mischief-makers[1] who helped the zamindar. Some of these deserted the zamindar; some, who took to mischief in the general confusion, sought seclusion in their homes when they heard the news of the subjugation of Phulcheri; but the zamindar Pulitevar alone was rebellious on account of the position of his place and the union with a few foolish men. The Khān mixed with the old inhabitants of that area, who indicated the track in which he was to go, and succeeded eventually in subduing the zamindar who was put to death along with his supporters. The Khān nominated one of the descendants as the zamindar who submitted *nadhr* and paid the sum fixed as penalty for the offence of his predecessor. Muḥammad Maḥfūẓ Khān Bahādur was imprisoned, brought to Palamkūta and interned in the fort. Thus peace was restored in Madura and Tinnevelly. Nelkattumseval was cleared of its forests and converted into a garden.

When Ḥaẓrat-i-A'lā marched from Phulcheri and arrived at the frontier of Tanjore, the *'arẓdāsht* with *nadhr* from Muḥammad Yūsuf Khān which contained the news about the administration of the taluks and the imprisonment of Muḥammad Maḥfūẓ Khān Bahādur reached the Nawwāb along with another letter accompanied by *nadhr* from 'Umdatu'l-Umarā

(1) Zamindars of Vadagarai and Ettaiyapuram,

Bahādur. The Nawwāb was very much pleased to receive them. He sent a letter to his son congratulating him on providing the army with necessary things. He wrote to Muḥammad Yūsuf Khān praising him for his bravery and instructed him to send with great care Muḥammad Maḥfūẓ Khān Bahādur to his presence.

When Ḥaẓrat-i-A'lā reached Tanjore, Pratap Singh, Raja of that place, welcomed the Nawwāb, submitted *pēshkash* and petitioned humbly that he should halt there for some time. The Nawwāb honoured the Raja by halting there for a day. Then he marched from that place after presenting the Raja with a horse and jewels and Mānāji Rao, his *dīwān*, with *khil'at* and a horse.

As Ḥaẓrat-i-A'lā approached Nattharnagar 'Umdatu'l-Umarā Bahādur went forward in great pomp with his nobles and retinue and received the Nawwāb who honoured them all by his kindness. Ḥaẓrat-i-A'lā paid a visit to the holy shrine of Nattharwali and then entered the fort. He approved of the son's administration during his absence. He gave presents to *'ulamās* and *shaykhs*, celebrating the success at Phulcheri.

As soon as the Nawwāb heard of the coming of Muḥammad Maḥfūẓ Khān Bahādur he sent 'Umdatu'l-Umarā Bahādur, his son, instructing him to march a *manzil* in advance to receive his uncle, and conduct him with great respect. As his brother came near the fort, the Nawwāb went out of it to receive him, submitted *nadhr*, kissed his feet, respectfully requested him to change the dress of a *darwesh*, presented him with royal robes and numerous jewels, and conducted him to the fort with great respect (July 1760). Music was played and several shots were fired to celebrate the event. A beautiful building was set apart for his residence. Servants were appointed, all arrangements befitting his rank were made and a *jāgīr* yielding large income was granted to him. Every day the Nawwāb paid a visit to his senior brother and sought to gain his heart. The kindness of

the Nawwāb made his brother feel ashamed of his past conduct.

*   *   *   *   *   *

Muḥammad Yūsuf Khān was a mean person.[1] He was first enrolled as a sepoy in the army of the *sarkār.* His zeal and carefulness in the execution of his duties won for him the rank of a captain of six sepoys. Gradually the sepoys under his care were increased till the number came to one hundred.

When the French attacked Chennapattan he was a *riasāladār* under 'Abdu'l-Wahhāb Khān Bahādur and exhibited great valour in opposing the French. In this manner, during the war of Ḥaẓrat-i-A'lā round about Phulcheri he distinguished himself for his bravery and attracted the notice of the Nawwāb.

Ḥaẓrat-i-A'lā put his trust upon him and selected him to quell the rebellion of Muḥammad Maḥfūẓ Khān Bahādur and *pālayagārs* in Madura and Tinnevelly; made him *sardār* over five thousand horse and ten thousand infantry with full equipments and honoured him with *manṣab, jāgīr* and the title of Khān. But all these favours turned out to be useless. When Ḥaẓrat-i-A'lā appointed him as his *nā'ib* to administer the affairs of Madura and Tinnevelly, the Khān was regular for some time in sending to the Nawwāb the collections of revenue and gradually began to show his bad nature.[2] He allied himself with mischief-makers who had formerly supported Muḥammad Maḥfūẓ Khān Bahādur, sought the support of Ḥaydar 'Alī Khān, brought together five hundred French who ran away after the fall of Phulcheri, got ready innumerable guns, gun-powder, flint-stone, and cannon from Chennapattan, Ṣadrangapattan, Nagpattan, and other ports that belonged to the *frang* communities, carried on correspondence with the *nāẓim* of the

(1) Clive and other English generals give a different opinion about him.

(2) For details see S. C. Hill's *Yusuf Khan the Rebel Commandant* Chapt. VIII.

Deccan by sending presents and gifts with a view to obtain from him titles and *manṣabs*, established friendship with the zamindar of Malīwār (Travancore) by promising him five lacs of rupees from the collection of the *sarkār*, made a pact with two divisions of Kallars in the east and west of Madura; thus he found himself a great *sardār*. He imagined that the kingdom was his own and forgot the past.

He murdered the servants of the *sarkār*, oppressed the poor and the rich and tyrannised the zamindars. One day he shot down seven hundred men. Thus he squeezed the kingdom to a very great extent.

As Ḥaẓrat-i-A'lā was busy with the affairs of Nellore and Vellore and as he had a charitable disposition, he sent letters of advice and admonition to Muḥammad Yūsuf Khān, but these had no effect on him. On the contrary he got ready to oppose the Nawwāb. He strengthened the fort of Madura with fresh fortifications, widened and deepened the ditch filling it with water and crocodiles, and broadened the *maydān* raising its level. He collected large quantities of provision and cattle that would suffice for food for many years; he closed the road to a distance of twenty *kurōhs* from Nattharnagar, erected a number of towers, appointed experienced men, kept cannon and powder in all positions of vantage and thus laid the foundation for his own destruction.

When Ḥaẓrat-i-A'lā found that his letters to Muḥammad Yūsuf Khān had no effect on him, he marched to Nattharnagar with an army. He divided this army composed of English and his own forces into two groups; he entrusted one group to 'Umdatu'l-Umarā Mu'īnu'l-Mulk Asadu'd-Dawla Ḥusayn Ali Khān Bahādur Dhul-Faqār Jang, and to I'timādu'd-Dawla Bahādur Muḥammad 'Abdullāh Khān Ḥusāmu'l-Mulk Bahādur Hizhabar Jang and dispatched them in the direction of the roads that were blockaded.

The other group under the leadership of Rōshanu'd-Dawla Muhammad Munawwar Khān Bahādur Bahādur Jang and Intizāmu'd-Dawla Muhammad Salābat Khān Nasīru'l-Mulk Bahādur Ghazanfar Jang was dispatched through the taluks of Tondaman, Nalgunta and Ramnath. The way through these places was difficult to pass through on account of thickets and shrubs and scarcity of water. Hence a number of bulls that carried water were sent along with them.

A third army under Anwaru'd-Dawla Muhammad Anwar Khān Bahādur Husām Jang was sent with orders to take charge of Tinnevelly and lay siege to Palamkūta.

As the rebel was looting everywhere in the land it was difficult to get grain in the area round about Madura. So Hazrat-i-A'lā stayed at Nattharnagar, purchased grain at the rate of five seers per rupee and sent it to army quarters with orders to sell at 12 seers per rupee.

By the grace of God the three armies attacked with great vigour and were able to capture seventeen forts which lay on their way. They all met, according to the order of Hazrat-i-A'lā, near the environs of Madura. Then one of these three armies marched to lay siege to Palamkūta, while the other two attacked Muhammad Yūsuf Khān and were able to defeat him in all engagements in spite of his huge army composed of horse, French forces and two lacs of Kallars. They subjugated in a period of one year all the towns that were situated at a distance of three *kurōhs* from the fort and finally besieged the fort.[1]

Hazrat-i-A'lā marched from Nattharnagar on the 29th of Dhul-qa'da with an army composed of Indians and *frangs* and reached Madura on the 5th of Dhul-hajj. He distributed lacs of rupees among the men of his army and presented them with elephants, horses, and arms, granted *jāgīrs,* and thus increased

(1) *See* S, C. Hill Yusuf's *rebellion of 1763* (1st & 2nd Chapter) *siege of Madura* (Chapt. XI—XIII.)

their zeal. On the 'Id day he said his prayers, got on his horse and ordered the English to cannonade from the west. The walls and towers of the fort were pulled down in three days. Although the rebel was paralysed, yet he continued the fight. Many were killed. When the victorious army saw that the enemy was keeping himself inside the fort and not venturing out on the *maydān*, Major Preston advanced with a company of English soldiers, crossed the ditch and reached the fort. They attacked the enemy with such vigour that the face of success for the *sarkār* began to appear, but the army had to retire to their camp when the Major was wounded. In brief, the brave attack of the forces of the *sarkār* reduced the enemy to helplessness. The rebel was captured and tortured with hooks.

Ḥaẓrat-i-A'lā entered the fort victoriously and hoisted the *wālājāhī* flag. Then he said the prayer invoking blessings, gave presents to *sayyids* and *shaykhs*. Many shots were fired announcing the victory. The *sardārs* of the army also were honoured with presents. In the meanwhile he heard the news of the capture of Palamkūta and offered thanks to the Great Almighty.

APPENDIX II.

THE SUBJUGATION OF NELLORE AND VELLORE.

The subjugation of Nellore.

Ḥaẓrat-i-A'lā appointed Madāru'l-Mulk, the younger brother of 'Umdatu'l-Umarā Bahādur, to look after Nattharnagar and set out from that place in the company of Muḥammad Maḥfūẓ Khān Bahādur, his brother, and 'Umdatu'l-Umarā Bahādur, his son, to Nellore to put the administration there in working order. When he arrived at Arcot, he seated 'Umdatu'l-Umarā Bahādur on the *masnad* of Muḥammadpūr, known as Arcot, appointed Mīr Asadu'llāh Khān as the *nā'ib* of the prince and then left for Madras. At Madras he received Khwāja Shamsu'd-Dīn Khān who had returned from the court of Delhi in the company of Lord Clive carrying the *farmāns* of the Emperor.

* * * *

It is the habit with Ḥaẓrat-i-A'lā to advise in the beginning those who deviate from the path of obedience. When it does not bear any fruit, he would draw the sword out of necessity to put down mischief and restore order and peace in the land. In accordance with this practice, he sent Khwāja 'Āṣim Khān, the grandson of Khwāja 'Abdullāh Khān and his own boon companions to Nellore to advise Muḥammad Najību'llāh Khān Bahādur and to bring him to the path of obedience. When they failed in their mission Ḥaẓrat-i-A'lā sent Muḥammad Maḥfūẓ Khān Bahādur for the same purpose, thinking that Muḥammad Najību'llāh Khān Bahādur would pay heed to the advice of his senior brother, but this procedure also did not bring success. Hence the Nawwāb started with an army in person. Just then he heard about the rebellion of Muḥammad Yūsuf Khān, sent

him some *farmāns* seeking to gain his heart, and continued his march to Nellore.

He arrived at Nellore and waited for a week, sending in the meanwhile, some of his boon companions to advise Najību'llāh Khān. As fate would have it, the Khān did not choose the right path. The Nawwāb out of helplessness drew out his army and cannonaded. The walls of the fort were pulled down and the houses inside, which were built of sticks and straw, caught fire. Najību'llāh Khān was frightened at this and fled away during the night. The Nawwāb took possession of the fort and gave orders to hoist his victorious flag. He dispatched some men to pursue the run-away Khān. Next day the *qil'adār* of Ūdgīr captured him and brought him before the Nawwāb. As the captive came along, the Nawwāb saw his hands bound in chain. Immediately his honour was touched and he cried out to remove the chain from the hands of the prince. The prince was set free and conducted to a tent.

Ḥaẓrat-i-A'lā attended to the management of the affairs of Nellore and the taluks under it. He subjugated the taluks of Yalnār and other places and returned to Arcot after a year.

The subjugation of Vellore.

After the murder of Nawwāb Ṣafdar 'Alī Khān, Mīr Asadu'llāh Khān his *dīwān*, was imprisoned by Ghulām Murtaẓā Khān and was later on released by Ḥaẓrat-i-A'lā. Thus there was enmity between Mīr Asadu'llāh Khān and Ghulām Murtaẓā Khān.

Mīr Asadu'llāh Khān who was appointed by Ḥaẓrat-i-A'lā as his *nā'ib* at Arcot fanned the flame of suspicion in the mind of the Nawwāb that Ghulām Murtaẓā Khān was in collusion with the Nāẓim of the Deccan and Ḥaydar 'Alī Khān, and incited him to subjugate the fort of Vellore, the *jāgīr* of Ghulām Murtaẓā Khān.

Ḥaẓrat-i-A'lā who was acquainted with all details was merciful to Ghulām Murtaẓā Khān and instead of taking the extreme step, demanded of the Khān to pay one lac of rupees, the balance amount of the *pēshkash* due to him. Ghulām Murtaẓā Khān was insolent and did not pay the sum. Hence the Nawwāb collected an army, composed of Indians and *frangs*, and made preparations to march against Vellore. The Khān was frightened at the news and agreed to pay the *pēshkash* but he was told that he had to pay the expenses of the army which was mobilised for action then. The Khān did not accede to it. The Nawwāb marched with his army and reached near Vellore. Immediately the Khān presented himself before the Nawwāb, expressed his readiness to pay the whole amount and sought his pardon. However much Mīr Asadu'llāh Khān incited the Nawwāb to subjugate Vellore, he did not listen to him. Ghulām Murtaẓā Khān returned to his fort and came back with all his family to Ḥaẓrat-i-A'lā. The Nawwāb sent them all with great care to Arcot and permitted them without any restriction to reside in the house set apart for *nāẓims*.

In brief, Ghulām Murtaẓā Khān had vacated the fort of Vellore in peace out of helplessness to stand the siege and prolonged warfare. Ḥaẓrat-i-A'lā who occupied the fort of Vellore without bloodshed took pity on the Khān and wished to restore him to the *jāgīr* after taking the *pēshkash*; but when he came to know of some letters incriminating him of treachery, the Nawwāb understood that it was opposed to good policy to let off such men, and imprisoned him. Then the Nawwāb started to Nattharnagar.

GLOSSARY.[1]

Al-amān, quarter, mercy.

Alwān, cloth of various colour.

'Āmils, agent, governor, administrator, revenue collector, official, functionary.

Amīr, commander, governor, chief, leader, prince, person of rank or distinction.

Amīr-i-khāṣṣ, special commander.

'Arẓdāsht, a memorial or address from an inferior to a superior.

Ashrafī, name of a gold coin, a gold mohur (its value in Calcutta about Rs. 16); by the Regulations of 1793, it should weigh 190,894 grains troy.

'Āshūr-khāna, a temporary structure for the celebration of the Muḥarram festival.

Badrat, badra, a square piece of cloth or leather, filled with coin and tied up as a purse; bag; a weight of 10,000 dirhems or 7000 dinars.

Bukhshī, paymaster (in Muslim armies); general, commander-in-chief (the office of the paymaster being combined with that of General); an officer who keeps accounts of all disbursements connected with military tenures.

Bānāt, broad cloth.

Bāndār, bowman, archer, rocketer.

Bāwarchī-khāna, kitchen.

(1) As it is not possible now to ascertain the exact connotation of certain words that were in vogue during the Muslim administration of India, different shades of meaning for them are given.

Bayrāgī, one who has subdued his worldly desires and passions; one who abandons the pursuits of this world; ascetic, devotee, stoic, recluse; a class of Hindu faqirs who roam about the country and practise austerities.

Bēldār, one who uses a spade.

Bhujband, an ornament worn on the upper arm, armlet.

Chawkīdār, the officer of a guard, watchman.

Chawkī-khāna, watch-house.

Daftar, book.

Darbār, court, hall of audience; the executive government of a State.

Darbār-i-'ām, public hall of audience.

Dargāh, shrine or tomb of some reputed saint, which is the object of worship and pilgrimage.

Dārōgha, the headman of an office; superintendent, manager, master, keeper.

Dārul-amāra, the executive office.

Dārul-inshā, office of correspondence.

Dhāt, personal.

Dīwān, a chief officer of State, minister.

Dīwān-khāna, office; hall of audience, hall, court, chamber; public room detached from the house.

Dīwān-i-khāṣṣ, privy-council-chamber, cabinet council.

Durūd, prayer; praise especially of the Prophet.

Faqīr, possessed of one day's sufficiency for self and family (the entirely destitute being called *miskīn*); poor man, beggar, religious mendicant.

Farmān, mandate; command, order; royal letter.

Farrāsh, one who spreads the carpets or cushions, the chamberlain in the palaces of kings and great men; an officer who superintends the pitching of tents; footman; butler.

Farrāsh-khāna, a room in which carpets, etc., are kept.

Fataḥ-lashkar, Name of an elephant, meaning 'victorious army'.

Fātiḥa, the commencement, the opening chapter of the Qurān, so called because the recitation in prayer is commenced therewith; prayers for the dead; prayers offered in the name of saints.

Fawjdār, superintendent of the military force in a district, an officer of the police so-called, a criminal judge or magistrate under the Muslim government.

Gāw-i-zamīn, the energy implanted by the Creator in the heart of the earth; the bull on whose horns the earth is fabled to rest.

Ḥakīm, learned wise man, doctor, philosopher, physician.

Ḥukm-nāma, written order, writ, decree, warrant, deed conveying certain authority, licence.

Humā, name of a fabulous bird, commonly regarded in the east as a bird of happy omen.

Hūn, the gold coin called by the Europeans pagoda, current at Madras; it is worth about 6*s*.

Ḥuqqa a smoking pipe with long flexible tube, smoke being drawn through water in a vase to which tube and bowl are attached.

'Īd, the periodical festival; a festival, feast day.

'Ilāqadār, the person responsible for the payment of the rates, etc., of a village or district.

Imāmiyya, an epithet assumed by the followers of ʿAlī, the sect of Shīʿa, who hold that ʿAlī is the lawful *imām* in immediate succession to Muḥammad, the Prophet.

ʿImārī, also *ʿamārī* or *ʿammārī*, a litter or seat with a canopy to ride on an elephant; when it has no canopy it is called a howdah.

Inʿām, grant of rent-free land.

ʿInāyat-nāma, letter: a grant in writing.

Irsāl, remittance; monthly collection of rent forwarded to head-quarters by the subordinate revenue authorities.

ʿIzrāʾīl, name of the angel of death.

Jāgīr, holding, occupying a place; assignment of the government share of the produce of a large tract of country to an individual; a possession in land granted either in perpetuity or for life as a reward for services or as a fee.

Jāgīrdār, the holder of a jāgīr.

Jīgha, an ornament worn on the turban; it consists of a band of velvet about six inches long and two broad, beautifully embroidered and a gold plate set with precious stones sewn on it.

Jizya, a capitation tax on the non-Muslim subjects of a Muslim government exempting them from military service.

Jumʿa, Friday prayer; the day of congregation, Friday when Muslims assemble to pray at the cathedral mosque.

Kalima ṭayyib, the Muslim confession of Faith, "There is no God, but Allāh and Muḥammad is His Prophet."

Kāf and *Nūn=Kun* (be) It is a part of the Qurānic verse *Kun fa yakūn*: Be and it is.

Karnāl, (*Karranay?*), a kind of trumpet.

Khāliṣa-jāgīr, a kind of jāgīr.

Khil'at, a robe of honour; a honorific dress with which princes confer dignity upon subjects, consisting at least of a turban, rope and girdle.

Khil'at-i-haft parcha, a kind of khil'at.

Kurōh, a linear measure of about two miles.

Kuttān, a red biting insect.

Mahall, palace.

Mahall-sarāy, private apartments of a noble or king; apartments for ladies, seraglio.

Mahṣūl, produce, public income from any source.

Majlis, assembly, congress, council.

Makhmal, velvet with two faces.

Mālguzār, landholder, one who holds lands under government; tenant.

Manṣab, post, dignity, office, ministry, magistracy, a high place.

Manzil, a place for alighting.

Manzil-ba-manzil, from stage to stage, by stages.

Mashāyikh, venerable old men.

Masnad, throne.

Maydān, open field without buildings, extensive plain, field of battle.

Muhām-khāna, place where important business is discussed.

Nadhr, gift or present from an inferior to a superior; a fee paid to the State or to its representative on succeeding to an office or to property.

Nā'ib, lieutenant, viceroy, vicegerent, deputy.

Nawbat, a very large kettledrum struck at stated hours; a musical band played at stated times before the palace of a king or a prince.

Nawbat-khāna, a large room over the outer gate of a palace or a shrine, where the drums or other musical instruments are sounded.

Nāẕim, organiser, administrator, governor, the chief officer of a province.

Niẕāmat, the office of a nāẕim.

Padak, an ornament of the neck; a badge; a flat plate of gold or other metal.

Pādshāh, emperor, sovereign, monarch, king.

Palāv, pilāv, a dish composed of meat or fish highly seasoned first and roasted afterwards.

Pālayagār, feudal chief in South India, poligar.

Parwāna, written precept or command, letters patent, grant, order of appointment, vernacular letter addressed to a subordinate officer.

Pēshkār, deputy, an officer in court below the sarishtadār; steward; a subordinate officer whose business is to write accounts.

Pēshkash, present to a superior, present to the ruling power on receiving an appointment or on the renewal of a grant, lease, etc.; magnificent present such as is only made to princes, great men, superiors or sometimes to equals, particularly on receiving a great appointment; tribute; quit-rent.

Pīr, spiritual guide, priest.

Qaṣba, large village, small town well inhabited.

Qāẓī, Muslim judge or magistrate, who passes sentence in all cases of law, religious, moral, civil and criminal.

Qil'adār, the commandant of a garrison; governor of a fort.

Ra'īs, headman, commander, governor, ruler, prince, a person of authority, a person high in rank.

Risāla, a troop of horse, squadron, cavalry.

Risāladār, commander of a troop of horse.

Sanad, order, written authority, royal ordinance, mandate, or decree; deed of grant from one in authority.

Sarācha, a tent enclosure.

Sarāy, temporary home for travellers, caravansary, inn.

Sardār, general, field marshal, officer of rank, chief of any department; prince.

Sarkār, master, lord; court of a king; government, ruling authority.

Sarpēch, *sarpēsh*, an ornament of gold, silver or jewels, generally worn in front of the turban; it sometimes consists of square pieces of gold plates strung together, each plate being set with precious stones; a band of silk or embroidery, from two to two and a half cubits long, worn round the turban.

Sayyid, descendant of Fāṭima, daughter of Muḥammad.

Shara', Muslim law as derived from Qurān.

Shaykh, venerable old man; man of authority, chief; abbot, superior of the dervishes.

Shī'a, a sect which follows 'Alī, affirming that he was the rightful Imām after Muḥammad, the Prophet; a follower of the sect (distinct from *Sunnī*).

Sipahdār, commander of an army, general.

Ṣūba, a collection of districts; province (one of the large divisions of the Mughal Empire, such as Bengal, the Carnatic).

Ṣūbadār, the office of the lieutenant of a province, viceroyalty.

Ta'alluqdār, one who holds a taluq.

Tamāsha, sport, amusement, fun.

Ṭarafdār, an officer employed to collect the revenue of particular parts; a possessor of territory; land-holder, magistrate.

Taṣbīḥ-khāna, place of worship attached to a private house or palace, where praise to God and the Prophet is said.

Thānadār, commander of a small fort, officer who is in management of a district.

Tōshak-khāna, place where furniture is kept.

Ṭurra, an ornament worn in the turban; an ornamental tassel or border, etc., a plume of feathers, a crest.

'Uhdadār, an officer of the Mughal government who is engaged to collect the revenue of a district for a small percentage.

'Ulamā, Doctors of law and religion.

Ẓilʻa, a division of a province, a district.

Ẓilʻadār, an officer who has the charge of the revenues of a district, superintendent of a district; an officer who makes advances to cultivators and collect rents, etc.; an officer in the canal department who supervises measurements and the distribution of water.

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